LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BS 620 .P34 1841 v.2
Paxton, George
Illustrations of scripture

'The production of a man whose information was as accurate as it was extensive; whose industry in collecting his materials was as patient and persevering, as his judgment in arranging them was sound and discriminating; and whose scriptural piety diffuses warmth over those pages, which a correct taste had enriched with the treasures of knowledge, and adorned with the attractions of style. The judgment and industry with which the learned Professor executed his task, the amplitude of his details, the lucid classification,—giving order and connexion to countless particulars, at once fixed its place as a standard work in the department of Sacred Literature to which it belongs. One of the most important features in the volume before us is the vast amount of new and interesting matter which has been introduced into the body of the original work by Mr Jamieson, the editor of the present edition. We regard the new matter as scarcely less valuable than the old; and if the same care be bestowed on the volumes which are still to follow, the entire work will be nearly as valuable for the contributions of Jamieson as for those of Paxton.'—*Christian Journal.*

'The excellence of Professor Paxton's "Illustrations of Scripture," is too generally known, and too fully appreciated, to need any commendation from us. They have long occupied, and still occupy, a deservedly high place among works of a similar description. We would have hailed with pleasure a new edition, especially one so elegant and cheap as the present, of the "Illustrations," even though it had been merely a reprint. But this it is not. While the original work is given entire, and is unchanged in other respects, it is enriched with large additions, amounting to nearly a fourth of the whole, of new and interesting matter. The volumes deserve the countenance and encouragement of the public, and, we doubt not, will obtain it. They are placing a valuable assistant to the study of the scriptures, within the reach of those who wish to obtain an accurate acquaintance with the sacred volume. It should be in every library, and it would be well if every Christian had an opportunity of consulting it, as he reads the inspired pages.'—*United Secession Magazine.*'

'"Paxton's Illustrations" is a book which has long been deservedly in high repute among biblical students. It is a work which, while it is of indispensable utility to the authorized interpreter of the Sacred Oracles, supplies diversified and copious information to the humble inquirer after Scriptural truth. The present edition, if we are to judge the whole from the first volume, is a great improvement on either of the preceding editions. The Editor is an accomplished writer, who has made the subject of Eastern Customs, and kindred subjects, his peculiar study, and who has done important service to the cause of Biblical Literature by several excellent publications.'—*The Covenanter.*

'We cannot appreciate too highly any successful effort in conveying a clearer perception of the Inspired Volume. The Author has been eminently successful in this laudable purpose, and has placed before us a work of exceeding utility, rich in geographical and social information.'—*Colonial Magazine.*

'For many years we have been acquainted with this work of Professor Paxton, and have ever regarded it as one of the most useful publications of the kind that have appeared in the English language. It will greatly assist the biblical student in his researches.' —*Methodist Magazine.*

To be published in April next,

Vol. III. On the NATURAL HISTORY of Palestine,—including an Account of Herbs and Shrubs, Woods and Trees, Insects, Reptiles, Domestic Animals, and Beasts and Birds of Prey.

And in July next,

Vol. IV. On the GEOGRAPHY of the HOLY LAND, — including Antediluvian and Postdiluvian, State of Palestine in the time of the Judges, of the Monarchy, under Native Princes, and under the Cesars, the Lakes, Mountains, Rivers, and Weather of Palestine, with Historical Notices of every Place of Note.

W.H.Bartlett W. Miller

TYRE, FROM THE MAINLAND.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

II.

Absalom's Tomb near Jerusalem.

WILLIAM OLIPHANT AND SON EDINBURGH. 1842

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE,

FROM THE

GEOGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, AND MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EAST.

BY THE LATE

PROFESSOR GEORGE PAXTON, D.D.,

OF EDINBURGH.

THIRD EDITION,

REVISED AND GREATLY ENLARGED BY THE

REV. ROBERT JAMIESON,

MINISTER OF CURRIE, AUTHOR OF 'EASTERN MANNERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,' ETC.

VOL. II.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

EDINBURGH:

WILLIAM OLIPHANT AND SON,

7, SOUTH BRIDGE STREET;

W. COLLINS, GLASGOW; HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO., LONDON;

AND WILLIAM CURRY AND CO., DUBLIN.

MDCCCXLII.

MURRAY AND GIBB, PRINTERS, 21 GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE CONTRACTS AND COVENANTS OF EASTERN NATIONS.

Contracts. At first proposed merely in words. Afterwards by striking hands. Seven lambs. Ratification by oath. Standing before altars. Putting hand under thigh. Joining hands. Eastern oaths. Ratifying by blood. Eating bread and salt. Presenting armour. Cancelling bonds, ... P. 9-27

CHAPTER VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE VARIOUS MODES IN WHICH THE ORIENTALS EXPRESSED THEIR RESPECT TO ONE ANOTHER.

Great attention to rank. Importance of presents. Great value of some. Parade in delivering them. Given sometimes as tribute. Tedious salutations. Their different forms. Their serious character. Kissing the ground. Kissing the hand, beard, and shoulders of equals. Dismounting before persons of high rank. Sitting on heels. Corner, place of distinction. Perfumes. Changes of dress. Gold drinking-cup. Dress of honour. Prince giving away his. Secret and new name. Clapping the hand. Preparing roads for great people. Couriers, Allaying dust. Spear. Seat by pillar. Bowing with head to the ground. Honours at meeting. Extravagant compliments. Strewing road with flowers and garments. Weighing in balances. Kissing hem of garment. Kissing knees, feet, and letters of superiors. Binding letters on

head. Palanquin. Riding on royal horse. Mode of determining royal favours. Marks of contempt. Shaving half of the beard. Plucking off the beard. Style of letter-writing. Open letters. Shaking of the lap. Spitting in face. Throwing dust in the air. Nicknames. Various marks of contempt, . . P. 28-95

CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE HONOURS SHEWN TO THE DEAD.

Duties to the dead reckoned sacred. Parting kiss. Rending clothes. Binding up face. Ablution. Shrouds. Embalming. Mourning near the door. Vessels of water. Coffins. Biers. Spices. Funeral honours. Sepulchres of fathers. Funeral procession. Hired mourners. Minstrels. Forms of lamentation. Dirge. Interior sepulchres. Sepulchres of the kings. Sepulchres in lofty rocks. Catacombs. Epitaphs. Shaving off hair for the dead. Plucking off hair. Colour of mourning dress. Sackcloth. Covering lips. Sitting on the ground. Beating breast. Smiting thigh. Dismissal of physicians. Funeral feasts. Slovenliness of dress. Walking without shoes. Visiting graves. Burning oil. Trial of the dead, ... P. 96-151

CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE EAST.

Dispensing justice in the open air. At the gate of a city. Under trees. Tribunals at first merely blocks of stone. Tesselated pavements. Forms of process. Simple. Goel. Places of refuge. Casting dust in the air. Postures during trial. Dress of criminals. Executions. Prompt and arbitrary. Barbarities. Denial of burial. Executioners. Trial by ordeal. Stoning. Burning. Sword. Hanging. Stupifying draughts. Millstone tied to neck. Sawing asunder. Throwing from rock. Pounding in a mortar. Cross. Pit. Burning alive. Hewing in pieces. Punishment of thirst. Restoration. Bonds. Prisons. Powers of jailors. Stocks. Slavery. Law of retaliation. Depriving of sight. Tympanum. Scourging. Privileges of Roman citizens. Appeal. Inner prison. Guards in Roman prisons. Burial of criminals. Their dress, ... P. 152-206

CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE PUBLIC GAMES OF GREECE.

Games and combats. Their origin and celebrity. Training. Rules. Preliminary exercises. Wrestlers. Cestus. Leathern caps. Matches. Foot and chariot races. Course. Garlands and palms. Goals, ... P. 207-222

CHAPTER XII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS.

Simplicity of oriental wars. Immense armies. Swiftness. Summons to arms. Signal. Distribution of soldiers. Cavalry. Their equipment. Bridles. Belts. War chariots. Order of march. Arms offensive and defensive. Helmets. Breastplate. Girdles. Greaves. Spiked shoes. Shields. Great care of armour. Sword. Dagger. Javelins. Battle-axe. Bow. Poisoned arrows. Sling. Engines. Deceitful bows. Labours of Roman soldiers. Comrades. Spies. Stratagems. Embassies of peace. Preparatives for battle. Devotions. Vows. Proclamation of hostilities. Standards, ... P. 223-296

CHAPTER XIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS, CONTINUED.

Camps. Time of beginning campaigns. Cursing an enemy. Pillage. Stopping wells. Military harangues. Divination by arrows and the liver. Music. Shout. Pursuit. Insolent challenges. Signs of defeat. Fortifications. Sieges. Mount. Battering-rams. Tortoise. Modes of defence. Overthrow of ancient cities. Cities ploughed and sown with salt. Stripping slain. Other indignities. Interring officers in armour. Tumuli. Putting feet on necks of vanquished. Vanquished treated as captives. Measuring line. Brick kiln. Binding living to dead. Banner. Pledge of protection. Privilege of streets in foreign cities. Spoil. Votive offerings. Thanksgivings for victory. Tokens of victory. Burning arms. Triumphal procession. Military crowns, . P. 297-358

CHAPTER XIV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MODE OF TRAVELLING AMONG THE ORIENTALS.

Orientals no great walkers. Preparations for a journey. Two staves. Mode of riding on horseback. Travelling chariots. Waggons. Carts. Roads. Passing rivers. Time of starting. Midnight arrivals. Remaining in streets. Double use of raiment. Use of fires. Inns. Stables and mangers. Dangers. Robbers. Treading on serpents. Heat. Shadow of a great rock. Influence of sun and moon. Hunger and thirst. Straight roads. Fountains. Buckets and ropes. Brackish waters. Horrible effects of thirst in the desert. Importance of guides. Arrangement and march of caravans. Anxiety for company in a journey. Persian couriers, ... P. 359-404

CHAPTER XV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ARTS AND MANUFACTURES OF THE ORIENTALS.

State of the arts among the Hebrews. Manufacture of earthenware. Bellows. Separate streets for trades. Weighing money. Money bags. Looms. Carpenter and smith work. Saw. Materials of writing. Sand. Rocks. Polished stone. Tiles. Wooden tablets. Leaves. Linen rolls. Skins. Form of ancient books. Pictorial illustrations. Manner of reading. Ancient ships. Lifeboat. Fishing-boats. Fishing during night. Physicians. Crowds following physicians. Anointing with oil. Musical instruments. Dancing. Hiring labourers. Slaves, . . . P. 405-461

INDEX OF SUBJECTS, ... P. 463-474

INDEX OF PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, . P. 475-488

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

CHAPTER VII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE CONTRACTS AND COVENANTS OF EASTERN NATIONS.

THE earliest contracts of which we read in the sacred volume, seem to have been proposed merely in words. Of this kind, for any thing we can discover, was the agreement between Isaac and Abimelech the king of Gerar.* A written instrument was the invention of an age long posterior; for the first contract of this kind, of which we read in the Scriptures, is in the book of Jeremiah, and relates to a purchase of land.† The law of Moses prescribes no writing, except in cases of divorce. But though it is presumable, that written contracts were not introduced till an advanced period of the Jewish history, we are not to suppose that for the want of them such transactions were nugatory or insecure. The public manner in which they were commonly managed and concluded, and perhaps the general prevalence of simplicity and integrity in the intercourse of life, rendered them, in most cases, perfectly safe. In the patriarchal age, and for a long time afterwards, the gate of the city was the place where business was transacted. Abraham purchased his burying-place in the presence of all those that entered in at the gate of Hebron. Hamor and his son Shechem went to the gate of their city, when they endeavoured to persuade their people to make an alliance with Jacob and his family. The

* Gen. xxvi. 28-31. † Jer. xxxii. 7.

way in which such transactions were managed in those primitive times, is beautifully described in the history of Ruth. Boaz, wishing to prevail with his kinsman, who had the right of redemption, either to perform the part of a kinsman to the wife of his deceased relative, or cede his right to himself, went up to the gate, and sat down there ; he then called his relation to sit down, and took some of the elders of the place as witnesses ; after they were all seated, he explained the matter, and obtained the acknowledgement he wanted, with all the formality prescribed by the law, which was to pull off his shoe ; and concluded the business by taking the elders and all the people, who from curiosity or interest had gathered about them, as witnesses of the transaction. We read of no writing on the occasion, yet was the transfer made, and complete security given, by the acknowledged testimony of the elders and people that were present. It was at first reckoned sufficient, if the covenant was made in the presence of all the people ; but in process of time, the ceremony of striking hands was introduced at the conclusion of a bargain, which has maintained its ground among the customs of civilized nations down to the present time.* The wise man alludes often to this mode of ratifying a bargain, which shows, it was in general practice among the people :—' My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou

* To strike hands with another, was the emblem of agreement among the Greeks under the walls of Troy; for Nestor complains in a public assembly of the chiefs, that the Trojans had violated the engagements which they had sanctioned by libations of wine, and giving their right hands :—

Σπονδαι τ' ακρητοι, και δεξιαι, ἡς επεπιθμεν.
Il. lib. ii. l. 341.

And in another passage, Agamemnon protests that the agreement which the Trojans had ratified by the blood of lambs, libations of wine, and their right hands, could not in any way be set aside.—*Il.* lib. iv. l. 159. The Roman faith was plighted in the same way; for in Virgil, when Dido marked from her watch-towers the Trojan fleet setting forward with balanced sails, she exclaimed, Is this the honour, the faith, ' En dextra fidesque ?'—*Æn.* iv. l. 597.

art snared with the words of thy mouth.'* Traces of this custom may be discovered in ages long anterior to that in which Solomon flourished; for Job, in his solemn appeal to God from the tribunal of men, thus expresses himself:—'Lay down now, put me in a surety with thee; who is he that will strike hands with me?'† The inspired writer has recorded an instance of this form of swearing in the history of Jehu:—'And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him; and he saluted him, and said to him, Is thy heart right, as my heart is with thy heart; and Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand: And he gave him his hand, and he took him up unto him into the chariot.'‡ Another striking instance is quoted by Calmet from Ockley's history of the Saracens. Telha, just before he died, asked one of Ali's men if he belonged to the emperor of the faithful; and being informed that he did, 'Give me then,' said he, 'your hand, that I may put mine in it, and by this action renew the oath of fidelity which I have already made to Ali.'§ [Mr Bruce also gives another instance. 'I was so enraged,' says he, 'at the traitorous part which Hassan had acted, that, at parting, I could not help saying to Ibrahim, Now, shiech, I have done every thing you have desired, without ever expecting fee or reward,—the only thing I now ask you, and it is probably the last, is that you revenge me upon this Hassan, who is every day in your power. Upon this he *gave me his hand*, saying,—"He shall not die in his bed, or I shall never see old age."']

The covenant which Abraham made with the king of Gerar, was ratified by a present of SEVEN EWE-LAMBS. The interesting ceremony is thus described:—'Abraham set seven ewe-lambs of the flock by themselves, and Abimelech said to Abraham, what mean those seven

* Prov. vi. 1; see also ch. xvii. 18, and xxii. 26.
† Job xvii. 3. ‡ 2 Kings x. 15. § Calmet, vol. iii.

ewe-lambs, which thou hast set by themselves? And he said, for these seven ewe-lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that they may be a witness unto me that I have digged this well.' This was accompanied with the solemnity of an oath, for it is added, 'Wherefore he called that place *Beershebah*, because there they sware both of them. Thus they made a covenant at Beershebah.'* The same form of ratification continues to be used among the Arabian shepherds; of which the following instance is given by Mr Bruce:—'Medicines and advice being given on my part, faith and protection pledged on theirs, two bushels of wheat, and SEVEN SHEEP were carried down to the boat; nor could we decline their kindness, as refusing a present in that country, is just as great an affront as coming into the presence of a superior without any present at all.'†

Contracts were frequently ratified by oath. The common form of swearing was by lifting up the right hand; it was the form which Abraham used, and was so general in his time, that the phrase, to lift up the right hand, was equivalent to swearing by God:—'And Abram said unto the king of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich.'‡ In the same form Jehovah was pleased to bind himself by oath:—'For I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever.'§ So when he promised to bring the people of Israel into Canaan, he is said *to lift up his hand.*‖ Bishop Patrick

* Gen. xxi. 28. † Trav. vol. ii. pp. 52, 87.
‡ Gen. xiv. 22. § Deut. xxxii. 40.
‖ Exod. vi. 8. Neh. ix. 15. This form of swearing, by stretching out and lifting up the right hand, the Greeks and Romans derived from the nations of Asia. Thus Agamemnon swears in Homer:—

——— το σκηπτρον ανεσχεθε πασι θεοισιν.

Il. lib. vii. l. 412.

See another instance, Iliad, lib. xix. l. 254, 255. 'To all the gods

alleges, that it was the custom of all nations to touch the altar when they made a solemn oath, calling God to witness the truth of what they said, and to punish them if they did not speak the truth ; and he supposes, that Solomon alludes to this practice, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple :—' If any man trespass against his neighbour, and an oath be laid upon him, to cause him to swear, and the oath come before thine altar in this house.' The royal suppliant, however, says not one word about touching the altar ; but clearly refers to the general practice of standing before it, for his words literally are : And the oath come before the face of thine altar. In imitation of God's ancient people, many of the surrounding nations, among whom Livy and other celebrated writers of antiquity mention the Athenians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, were accustomed to stand before the altar when they made oath ;* but it does not appear they laid their hand upon it, and by consequence, no argument from the sacred text, nor even from the customs of these nations, can be drawn for the superstitious practice of laying the hand upon the gospels and kissing them, instead of the solemn form authorised by God himself, of lifting up the right hand to heaven. It is pretended, however, by some writers, that to put the hand upon the throne, was in some countries a ceremony that attended a solemn oath ; and that Moses alludes to this custom in these words :—' Because the Lord has sworn (or literally, because the hand of the Lord

his sceptre he uplifts.' In the same manner, Virgil makes the king of Latium plight his faith to Æneas and his followers :—' Then thus Latinus, raising his eyes to heaven, succeeds, and to the stars stretches forth his right hand :'

' Suscipiens cœlum, tenditque ad sidera dextram.'

Æn. xii. l. 196.

To give additional solemnity to his oath, he touched the altar before which he stood :—

' Tango aras, mediosque ignes et numina testor.'

* Cic. Fam. vii. l. 12. Liv. xxi. 45 ; xxii. 53.

is upon the throne), that he will have war with Amalek, from generation to generation.'* But these words are susceptible of a very different meaning, which has not escaped the notice of some valuable commentators. For he said, Because his hand hath been *against* the throne of the Lord, therefore, will he have war with Amalek, from generation to generation. The prophet is there giving a reason of the perpetual war which Jehovah had just proclaimed against that devoted race; their hand had been against the throne of the Lord, that is, they had attacked the people whom he had chosen, and among whom he had planted his throne; disregarding, or probably treating with contempt, the miraculous signs of the divine presence which led the way, and warranted the operations, of Israel; they attempted to stop their progress, and defeat the promise of Heaven; therefore they dared to lift their hand against the throne of God himself, and were for their presumption, doomed to the destruction which they intended for others. Hence, the custom of laying the hand upon the gospels, as an appeal to God, if not the contrivance of modern superstition, is derived from the practice of some obscure Gentile nation, and has no claim whatever to a more reputable origin.

A very ancient form of swearing was by putting the hand under the thigh. After this manner, the patriarch Abraham took an oath of his servant before he sent him to Padan-aram, to procure a wife for his son Isaac. It has been supposed, that Abraham required this, because his eyes were so dim with age, that he could not discern whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, that he was old and well stricken in age.† But the sacred historian makes no mention of

* Exod. xvii. 16.

† This conjecture was first made by the Hon. Daines Barrington, in his Archæologia.—*Editor.*

the dimness of Abraham's sight, nor did the patriarch himself assign this as the reason of his command. It is more probable, that if it was not a distinct form of swearing, it was a very common part of the solemnity, an idea which the words of the text appear to favour :—'Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house, that ruled over all that he had : Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh ; and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven, and the God of the earth.' Under the same form, the patriarch Jacob long afterwards took an oath of his beloved son Joseph, to bury him with his fathers, in the land of Canaan.* It seems, therefore, to have been a circumstance required in swearing, by the established custom of those times. This conclusion receives no little support from the present mode of swearing among the Mohammedan Arabs, that live in tents, which nearly corresponds with the patriarchal form ; they put their left hand underneath, and their right hand over the Koran. Whether in the patriarchal ages, they placed one hand under the thigh, and the other above it, cannot now be ascertained ; it is not improbable they put the left hand under the thigh, and stretched out the right hand to heaven. Mr Harmer thinks, that the posterity of the patriarchs being described as coming 'out of the thigh,'† this ceremony was expressive of their faith in the promises of Jehovah, to bless all the nations of the earth by means of one that was to descend from Abraham.‡

A very solemn method of taking an oath in the East is by joining hands, uttering at the same time a curse upon the false swearer. To this form the wise man probably alludes in that proverb :—'Though hand join in hand'—though they ratify their agreement by oath

* Gen. xxiv. 2, 3 ; and xlvii. 29.

† Gen. xlvi. 26. Exod. i. 5. Margin.

‡ Harmer's Observ. vol. iv. p. 248. Dr Clarke has shown from the Targums, that what is modestly expressed under this phrase in the bible, is plainly declared to be the sign of the covenant of their faith in which the patriarchs were accustomed to swear.—*Editor.*

—'the wicked shall not be unpunished; but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered.'* This form of swearing is still observed in Egypt and the vicinity; for when Mr Bruce was at Shekh Ammer, he entreated the protection of the governor in prosecuting his journey, when the great people, who were assembled, came, and after joining hands, repeated a kind of prayer, of about two minutes long, by which they declared themselves and their children accursed, if ever they lifted up their hands against him in the tent, or the field, or the desert; or in case that he or his should fly to them for refuge, if they did not protect them at the risk of their lives, their families, and their fortunes; or, as they emphatically expressed it, to the death of the last male child among them.† [The expression in the original, which is, 'though they join hand to hand,' more nearly expresses the prevailing practice of the orientals. Sometimes, when two persons make a contract, they bring the palms of their right hands into contact, and then raise them to their lips and forehead. At other times, which is far the most common way, they rub the forefingers of their right hands rapidly together, repeating the words, 'right, right, or together, together.' 'It is in this manner,' says Mr Jowett, 'that persons express their consent on all occasions,—on concluding a bargain, or engaging to bear one another company, and on every kind of friendly agreement, or good understanding. May not this serve to explain the phrase in Matthew vi. 3, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth;" that is, Let not thy heart consent to its own good thoughts with a sinful self-applause.'‡]

* Prov. xi. 21. † Bruce's Travels, vol. i. p. 148.

‡ Jowett's Christian Researches in Syria, pp. 283, 284. The same attentive observer goes on to remark, that 'So much is said in the Old and New Testament of speaking with the eyes, hands, and even feet, it is scarcely understood by Englishmen. They should see the expressive and innumerable gesticulations of foreigners when they converse. Many a question is answered, and many a significant remark conveyed even by children, who learn this language much

It was very common among the orientals to swear by the head or the life of the king.* Joseph, improperly yielding to the fashion of the country, sware by the life of Pharaoh ; and this oath is still used in various regions of the East. According to Mr Hanway, the most sacred oath among the Persians is by the head of the king ;† and Thevenot asserts, that to swear by the king's head is, in Persia, more authentic, and of greater credit, than if they swore by all that is most sacred in heaven and upon earth.‡ In the time of our Lord, it seems to have been a common practice among the Jews to swear by this form : for, said he to the multitudes, 'Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.'

To swear and vow by Jerusalem, was another form in use among the Jews ; 'as the altar, as the temple, as Jerusalem,' are expressions frequently to be met with in their writings. In the Gemara, it is, 'He that says as Jerusalem, does not say any thing till he has made his vow concerning a thing which is offered up in Jerusalem.'§ That which was offered up in Jerusalem was the corban, or gift on the altar, and was one of those oaths which, in our Saviour's time, the scribes and Pharisees reckoned most sacred. If any swore by the altar, it was nothing ; but if any swore by the oblation on the altar, he was bound to perform it. The law of God, according to those corrupt teachers, lost its power to command obedience, when the oath by corban happened to be in opposition. Thus, if a man swore by corban that he would not help or relieve his parents, they taught that he was not bound by the

sooner than their mother-tongue. Perhaps the expression of Solomon, that the wicked man *speaketh with his feet*, may appear more natural, when it is considered that the mode of sitting on the ground in the East brings the feet into view, nearly in the same direct line as the hands ; the whole body crouching down together, and the hands, in fact, often resting upon the feet.'—*Editor.*

* Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. p. 632.

† Trav. vol. i. p. 313. ‡ Trav. part ii. p. 97.

§ Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. ii. No. 1172.

divine law. This is the express doctrine of their talmud. Every one ought to honour his father and his mother, except he has vowed the contrary ; and it is well known that the Jews often did, by solemn vows and oaths, bind themselves never to do good to the persons whom they named. An execration, or conditional curse, was also annexed to their oaths, which was sometimes expressed in this manner :—' If I do not so, then the Lord do so to me, and more also.' Sometimes the execration is understood, as in the declaration of Abraham to the king of Sodom :—' I have sworn, if I take from a thread to a shoe-latchet ;' supply the execration, ' then let the Lord do so to me, and more also.' The Psalmist uses the same elliptical phrase :—' If they shall enter into my rest ;' that is, ' I have sworn that they shall not enter into my rest.' These remarks enable us to give a clear and satisfactory exposition of that difficult passage in the gospel of Matthew :—' But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me.' By the oath corban, if thou receive any benefit from me, then let God do so to me, and more also ; or more simply, I swear by corban (the gift of the altar), that thou shalt have no benefit from me. This exposition is equally agreeable to the scope of the passage, and to their form of swearing ; and shows in a very plain and convincing way, how the Jews made void the law of God by their traditions. The divine command is, ' Honour thy father and thy mother;' help them in their need, relieve them in their want ; but the scribes and Pharisees said, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, that asked his assistance, By corban thou shalt receive no gift from me, he was free from the commanding power of the law.

[To enter into the full force of our Lord's strong and pointed admonition to his countrymen, ' to swear not at all,' the reader must bear in mind, that, in conse-

quence of their frequent captivities in early, and their extensive intercourse with the people around them in later, times, the degenerate Jews, in the age of Christ, had contracted many of the worst habits of their Asiatic neighbours; not the least of which was the almost universal prevalence of the odious practice of profane swearing. We, amongst whom fashion, or it is to be hoped, the influence of better and higher principles, has happily banished this disgusting vice from respectable society, can scarcely imagine the extent to which the orientals indulge in oaths, in their ordinary conversation. They cannot speak on the most trifling subject, without interlarding their speech, at almost every word, with imprecations; and what is worthy of notice, the customs of the East being seldom liable to any change, the oaths in most common use at the present day, are precisely the same as those which called forth our Lord's animadversion on the profane habits of his contemporaries. An inhabitant of the East swears by the life of the king, which is considered the most sacred confirmation of his word; by the throne, by his own head, or the head of his father; by the heads of his children, and his ancestors; by the city of Mecca, which is reckoned a holy city; by the earth they tread on; by the heavens above them; by the bread and salt they have ate together; by their temples. In short, without caring a straw about what they say, and being the most perfidious people in the world, they attempt to give weight to their words by pouring forth a volley of oaths in a breath, and conceal their proverbial duplicity by a mode of speaking, which all who are acquainted with their habits know well is as ludicrously meaningless as it is grossly profane. Few things could show more expressively the state of decline into which the Jews had fallen, from the pure and high-toned morality which their ancestors practised, than their national imitation of this vice, for which the orientals have in all ages been infamous.]

The ancients commonly ratified their federal engagements by the blood of a sacrifice ; when they cut the victim into two parts, placing each part upon an altar, and causing the contracting parties to pass between the pieces, to intimate that so should they be cut asunder, who violated the agreement. In this manner was the covenant ratified, which God made with Abraham and his family :—'And he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old, and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove and a young pigeon. And he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another; but the birds divided he not. . . . And it came to pass, that when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp, that passed between those pieces.' * Such were the awful symbols by which the Supreme Being was graciously pleased to pledge his veracity, for the accomplishment of his promise to the patriarch and his posterity :—'In the same day, the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates.' The same awful ceremonies were observed by the people of Israel at the renovation of this covenant ; for the prophet Jeremiah threatened, in the name of the Lord, 'I will give the men who have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed between the parts of the calf.' † From this rite proceeded the phrase so common in the Old Testament Scriptures, 'to cut a covenant.' Several traces of this mode of ratifying a covenant, have been discovered in the customs of different nations, in all probability the

* Gen. xv. 9-17. † Jer. xxxiv. 18.

remains of that ancient and divinely appointed observance recorded in the history of Abraham.*

[A variation in this mode of ratifying an engagement prevailed among the Arabians, and is thus described by Herodotus. 'When they make a covenant and agreement with each other, it was customary for a third person to stand in the middle between them both, who, with a sharp stone, made a slight incision in the inside of the hands of the contracting parties near the larger fingers. This done he took a piece out of each of their garments, and anointed with their blood seven stones that were also placed between them, putting up during this operation some ejaculatory prayers to heaven, and when the whole ceremony was finished, this individual accompanied his friends to a neighbour or citizen of public character, whom he apprized of the contract, which was then considered final and obligatory.' This practice, which originated in the country of Job, seems to have existed in the days of that patriarch, and accordingly allusion is made to it in that expression, 'Neither is there any days-man betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both.'†]

* Homer has the expression, of which the reference cannot easily be mistaken, Ορκια πιστα ταμοντες; (Il. lib. ii. l. 124; and lib. iii. l. 295. Æn. lib. xii. l. 201), 'having cut faithful oaths,' which Eustathius explains, by saying, 'They were oaths relating to important matters, and were made by the division of the victim. Virgil alludes to the same practice in these lines:—

——— 'Jovis ante aras, paterasque tenentes
Stabant, et cæsa jungebant fœdera porca.'—*Æn.* lib. viii. l. 640.

'The princes, sheathed in armour, and with the sacred goblets in their hands, stood before the altars of Jove, and having sacrificed a sow, concluded a league.' And Agamemnon, to confirm his oath to Achilles, divided a victim in the midst, placed the pieces opposite to each other, and holding his sword reeking with the blood of the victim, passed between the separated pieces. Calmet, vol. iii. Iliad. lib. xix. l. 260.

† Job ix. 33. Mr Taylor, who edited the Supplementary Fragments in Calmet, thinks that this remarkable custom serves to illustrate an obscure passage in Isaiah: 'We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement, when the overflow-

To eat of the same bread has been reckoned in every age a sure pledge of inviolable friendship. Pythagoras commanded his disciples not to break bread,* because, say they, the bond of friendship is not to be broken; and all friends should assemble round the same cake. A cake of bread, observes Curtius, was the most sacred pledge of amity among the Macedonians.† [Thus Laban and Jacob, when confirming the friendly alliance between the two branches of their common family, which they respectively represented, seated on a circular heap of stones, which, according to an ancient custom, was to remain a 'circle of witness,' celebrated a feast of reconciliation and friendship, and by that familiar act of mutual hospitality, eating bread together, cemented their households in a bond of inviolable amity.] Nothing was reckoned baser, in the East, than to offer violence to those, at whose table they had been entertained.‡

In perfect harmony with these views and feelings, which seem to have been derived from a very remote antiquity, the holy Psalmist complains of Ahitophel: 'Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.'§ And a greater than David, in reference to Ju-

ing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us, for we have made lies our refuge, and under a falsehood have we hid ourselves, *i. e.* We have cut off a covenant sacrifice, a purification offering with death, and with the grave. We have settled so that the scourge shall not injure us,' Isaiah xxviii. 15.—*Editor*

* Τον αρτον μη καταγυνναι; bread is not to be broken.

† Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 4.

‡ Euripides accordingly makes Hecuba bitterly inveigh against Polymnestor, the murderer of her son, that he had often taken his seat at the same table with her, and enjoyed the rites of hospitality among her friends:—

Κοινης τραπεζης πόλλακις τοχων εμοι
Ξενιεις τω αριθμω πρωτα των εμων φιλων.

And Æschines, in his oration against Demosthenes, reproaches him, especially because he had accused him, though they had eaten at the same table, and joined in the same sacred ceremonies.

§ Psalm xli. 9.

das Iscariot:—'I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen; but that the scripture may be fulfilled, he that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.'* The traitor had lived for more than three years in the relations of peace and amity with his Lord: he had been called to the apostolic office, and had been admitted to the same familiar intercourse with his divine Master, as the other disciples had enjoyed. These invaluable privileges greatly aggravated his crime; but his eating bread at his Master's table, while he was plotting against his life, was the crowning point of his enormous wickedness.

The orientals were accustomed also to ratify their federal engagements by salt. This substance was, among the ancients, the emblem of friendship and fidelity, and therefore used in all their sacrifices and covenants. It is a sacred pledge of hospitality which they never venture to violate. [And hence, when the Lord 'gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, to him and his sons,' it is called 'a covenant of salt,' that being the symbol of perpetuity, a sign that it would never be revoked.†] Numerous instances occur of travellers in Arabia, after being plundered and stript by the wandering tribes of the desert, claiming the protection of some civilized Arab, who, after receiving him into his tent and giving him salt, instantly relieves his distress, and never forsakes him till he has placed him in safety.‡ An agreement, thus ratified, is called in Scripture, 'a covenant of salt.' The obligation which this symbol imposes on the mind of an oriental, is well illustrated by the Baron du Tott in the following anecdote:—One who was desirous of his acquaintance, promised in a short time to return. The Baron had already attended him half way down the staircase, when stopping, and turning briskly to one of his do-

* John xiii. 18. † 2 Chronicles xiii. 5.

‡ Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 397. Orme's History of the Military Transactions, &c. vol. ii. p. 204.

mestics, Bring me directly, said he, some bread and salt. What he requested was brought; when, taking a little salt between his fingers, and putting it with a mysterious air on a bit of bread, he ate it with a devout gravity, assuring du Tott he might now rely on him.* [Morgiana, in the well known story of the Forty Thieves, is described as having her suspicions of Coja Hussain's, the captain's, conduct, first excited by the announcement of the circumstance of his refusing to eat any thing at Ali Baba's of which salt was an ingredient. D'Herbelot gives an account of a celebrated robber, who having, in one of his predatory excursions, broken into the palace of the Persian king, and collected large booty, was on the point of carrying it away, when he found his foot stumble against something, which he discovered to be salt. Struck with the unexpected sight of that pledge of hospitality and good will, his conscience, as if overcome by an irresistible impulse, prompted him to fling down his ill-gotten treasure, and, accordingly, he departed, empty-handed. In passing through the different tribes of Arabs, a traveller has only to say, 'I have eaten salt in such a tent,' and if the owner belongs to a friendly tribe, it is a passport that ensures his safety. And, to

* Mem. vol. i. pp. 252, 253. Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 52. The Greeks and Romans uniformly sprinkled the head of the victim which was ready to be offered in sacrifice, with a salt cake, or with bran or meal, mixed with salt. Thus, in Virgil, the crafty Greek harangued the Trojans:—'For me the sacred rites were prepared, and the salted cake and fillets to bind about my temples.

——— 'mihi sacra parari,
Et salsæ fruges, et circum tempora vittæ.'—*Æn.* lib. ii. l. 133.

And when the Greeks, before Troy, sent back the daughter of Chryses with a hecatomb to appease the wrath of Apollo, the ambassadors, immediately after presenting the young lady to her father, placed the splendid sacrifice for the god, arranged in proper order, before the altar; and having purified their hands in water, took up the salted cake:—

Χερνιψαντο δ' επειτα, και ουλοχυτας ανελοντο.
Il. i. l. 449.

mention only one instance more, Tamerlane, speaking of a traitor who had gone over to the enemy, but who afterwards returned to loyalty and obedience, says, 'at length, *my salt which he had eaten* filling him with remorse, he fled from his new masters and threw himself on my mercy.' Another domestic article, by which an appeal was made to attest an engagement, was a burning lamp; and it is an interesting fact, to use the words of a modern traveller, that the burning lamp or fire is still used in the East, in *confirmation* of a covenant. Should a person in the evening make a solemn promise to perform something for another, and should the latter doubt his word, the former will say, pointing to the *flame* of the lamp, 'That is the *witness*.' On occasions of greater importance, when two or more join in a covenant, should the fidelity of any be questioned, they will say, 'We invoke the lamp of the temple' (as a witness). When an agreement of this kind has been broken, it will be said, 'Who would have thought this? for the lamp of the temple was invoked.' This was the mode of pledging his word, which the Almighty himself condescended, in accommodation to Abraham's habits, to employ, on the memorable occasion of his promise to the patriarch's posterity, of 'a land that is not theirs.' 'When the sun went down, and it was dark, behold! a smoking furnace, and a *burning lamp* passed between the pieces.'*]

Another mode of ratification, was by great men presenting a party with some article of their own dress; and if they were warriors, by exchanging their arms.† The greatest honour which a king of Persia can bestow upon a subject, is to cause himself to be disrobed, and his habit given to the favoured individual.‡ The custom was probably derived from the Jews; for, when Jonathan made his covenant with David, 'he stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to

* Gen. xv. 17. † Iliad, lib. vi. l. 235.
‡ Morier's Trav. vol. i. pp. 298, 299. D'Herbelot, vol. ii. p. 20.

David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.'* This instance proves, that among the ancients, to part with one's girdle was a token of the greatest confidence and affection; in some cases it was considered as an act of adoption.

Written obligations were cancelled in different ways; one was by blotting them out, or drawing a line across them, and another by striking them through with a nail; in both cases the bond was rendered useless, and ceased to be valid. These customs the apostle applies to the death of Christ in his epistle to the Colossians:—'Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross.'† A rod was sometimes broken, as a sign that the covenant into which they had entered was nullified. A trace of this ancient custom is still discernible in our own country; the Lord Steward of England, when he resigns his commission, breaks his wand of office, to denote the termination of his power. Agreeably to this practice, the prophet Zechariah brake the staves of beauty and bands, the symbols of God's covenant with ancient Israel, to show them that, in consequence of their numerous and long-continued iniquities, he withdrew his distinguishing favour, and no longer acknowledged them as his peculiar people. This is the exposition given by the prophet himself:—'And I took my staff, even Beauty, and cut it asunder, that I might break my covenant which I had made with all the people; and it was broken in that day. Then I cut asunder my other staff, even Bands, that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel.'‡ [To under-

* 1 Sam. xviii. 4. In a similar way, Iulus, and the other Trojan chiefs confirmed their solemn engagements to Nisus and Euryalus: 'Thus weeping over him, he speaks; at the same time divests his shoulders of his gilded sword—On Nisus Mnestheus bestows the skin and spoil of a grim shaggy lion; trusty Alethes exchanges with him his helmet.'—*Æneid*, lib. ix. l. 303-307.

† Colossians ii. 14. ‡ Zechariah xi. 10, 14.

stand the action of the prophet more fully, it is necessary to add, that intercourse between two persons who were leagued in a contract or any kind of engagement with each other, was frequently carried on, when they were at a distance, by means of two sticks. These, which in form and thickness exactly corresponded with each other as tallies, were used as the medium of communication. A paper wrapped round one of them, and written upon, when carried to the other, and fitted in like manner to his rod, was easily read and understood, although, to the messenger who had carried it, and who was without the means of adjusting it so as to make it legible, it appeared a heap of incoherent and cabalistical characters. The breaking of both these tallies, or even of one of them, was equivalent to a breach of the covenant, or was understood as a cessation of all further intercourse.]

CHAPTER VIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE VARIOUS MODES IN WHICH THE ORIENTALS EXPRESSED THEIR RESPECT FOR ONE ANOTHER.

In no quarter of the world is the difference of ranks in society maintained with more scrupulous exactness than in Asia. The intercourse among the various classes of mankind, which originate in the unequal distributions of creating wisdom, or providential arrangement, is regulated by laws, which, like those of the Medes and Persians, suffer almost no change from the lapse of time, or the fluctuation of human affairs. To these laws, which have extended their influence far beyond the limits of the East, the sacred writers make frequent allusions. No mark of esteem is more common through all the oriental regions, none more imperiously required by the rules of good breeding, than a present. When Mr Maundrell and his party waited upon Ostan, the basha of Tripoli, he was obliged to send his present before him to secure a favourable reception. It is even reckoned uncivil, in that quarter of the world, to make a visit without an offering in the hand. The nobility, and officers of government, expect it as a kind of tribute due to their character and authority ; and look upon themselves as affronted, and even defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. So common is the custom, that in familiar intercourse among persons of inferior station, they seldom neglect to bring a flower, an orange, a few dates or radishes, or some such token of respect, to the person whom they visit. In Egypt the

custom is equally prevalent: the visits of that people, which are very frequent in the course of the year, are always preceded by presents of various kinds, according to their station and property. So essential to human and civil intercourse are presents considered in the East, that, says Mr Bruce, 'whether it be dates or diamonds, they are so much a part of their manners, without them an inferior will never be at peace in his own mind, or think that he has a hold of his superior for his favour or protection.'* Sir John Chardin affirms, that 'the custom of making presents to the great was universal in the East; and that every thing is received even by the great lords of the country, fruit, pullets, a lamb. Every one gives what is most at hand, and has a relation to his profession; and those who have no particular profession give money. As it is accounted an honour to receive presents of this sort, they receive them openly: and even choose to do it when they have most company.' 'Throughout the East,' says Du Tott, 'gifts are always a mark of honour.' This custom is, perhaps, one of the most ancient in the world. Solomon evidently alludes to it in that proverb:—'A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men.'† We recognise it in the reply of Saul to his servant, when he proposed to consult the prophet Samuel about the object of their journey:—'If we go, what shall we bring the man of God? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God. What have we?'

* Bruce's Trav. vol. i. p. 60. ['Mr Bruce, who had agreed to take a poor sick Arab with him a considerable distance, was presented by the invalid with a dirty rag containing ten dates. Lander gave on two occasions successively a penny Jews' harp and a farthing whistle; and a curious anecdote is told of a countryman, who, having met Artaxerxes, king of Persia, without having any thing by which, according to the oriental custom, he could testify his respect for his sovereign, ran immediately to the adjacent stream, filled both his hands, and offered it to his prince.' See Jamieson's Eastern Manners, vol. i.]—*Editor.*

† Proverbs xviii. 16.

Saul was inclined at first to offer the seer, who was at the same time the chief magistrate in Israel, a piece of bread, till he recollected their viaticum was all spent, and then agreed to present him with 'the fourth part of a shekel of silver,' in value about a sixpence.* It could not then be their design, by offering such a trifle, to purchase his services, but merely to show him that customary mark of respect to which he was entitled. Nor were the prophets of the Lord a set of mercenary pretenders to the knowledge of future events, who sold their services to the anxious inquirer for a large reward. Had they refused to accept of such presents, they would have been guilty of transgressing an established rule of good manners, and of insulting the persons by whom they were offered. When Elisha refused, with an oath, to accept of the present which Naaman the Syrian urged him to receive, it was not because he thought it either unlawful or improper to receive a gift, for he did not hesitate to accept of presents from his own people: nor was the prophet regardless of an established custom, which offended no precept of the divine law, or disposed to wound, without necessity, the feelings of the Syrian grandee; but because he would not put it in the power of Naaman to say he had enriched the prophet of Jehovah; and by this act of self-denial, it is probable he was desirous of recommending the character and service of the true God to that illustrious stranger.

The presents made to the ancient prophets were not always of the same kind and value; an inhabitant of Baalshalisha 'brought the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and full ears of

* Dr Pococke presented to a Turkish Aga in Egypt two sequins, worth about a guinea, which the latter demanded as the condition of admitting the learned traveller again to his presence. Trav. vol. ii. p. 167. And Egmont and Heyman inform us, that the well of Joseph in the castle of Cairo is not to be seen without leave from the commandant; which having obtained, they, in return, presented him with a sequin. Vol. i. p. 119.

corn in the husk.'* The king of Israel sent a present by his wife to the prophet Ahijah, of ten loaves and cracknels, and a cruise of honey; which it appears from other statements, was not deemed unworthy of an eastern king.† Some commentators are of opinion, that it was a present fit only for a peasant to make, and was designedly of so small value, to conceal the rank of the messenger. But this idea by no means corresponds with the custom of the East; for D'Arvieux informs us, that when he waited on an Arabian emir, that chief's mother and sister sent him a present of pastry, honey, fresh butter, with a bason of sweetmeats, which differs very little from the present of Jeroboam.‡ It was certainly the wish of the king, that his wife should not be recognized by the aged prophet; but the present she carried, though not intended to discover her, was, in the estimation of the orientals, not unbecoming her rank and condition.§ [The presents made, on consultation of a prophet or seer, consisted usually of some kind of provisions; the condition of that class of religious functionaries pro-

* 2 Kings iv. 42. Instead of 'in the husk,' the margin more properly renders it, 'in his scrip.'—*Editor.*

† 1 Kings xiv. 3. ‡ Voy. dans la Palest. p. 50.

§ The opinion given in the text, that this present of Jeroboam's wife was 'not unbecoming her rank and condition,' is inadmissible. The very example quoted of the articles composing the present of a pastoral chief's family, confirms the idea that the gift of this disguised queen was intended to consist of dairy produce, and be suitable to the peasant character she personated. The author seems to have overlooked what he justly said in the preceding page, 'that every one gives what is most at hand, or has a *relation to his profession*,' no less than what he, with equal truth, says a few pages after of the great value of the presents made by eastern princes, and of their being rejected, when trifling or inadequate. There is a vast difference between the condition of Jeroboam and that of a pastoral chief. The word prince may be applied to both. But in the one case, it denotes a man whose dignity consisted wholly in the extent of his flocks, and whose wealth arose from the produce of his dairy; in the other, it was applied to a man who reigned over a settled kingdom, and possessed great power and resources, and whose wife must be considered as having been brought up not altogether unsuitable to the rank of a queen.—*Editor.*

bably suggesting that a little variety in the luxuries of the table would be more acceptable than either money or any other kind of offering. Their salaries were small, their habit of life necessarily frugal, and marked by rigid economy; and hence it was natural that it would be expedient to approach them with a gift of something that would gratify them with a little variation from their ordinary plainness,—not to say mean style of living. For a similar reason, custom has established it, that when friends and relations go on a visit to a family or friend at a distance, on which occasions the whole household generally travel in a body, and remain from three to eight days at a time, they carry presents along with them, or send them along with the intimation of their intended visit: and on these occasions the presents always consist of some stock of provisions, proportioned to their number and rank.]

These introductory presents were sometimes of great value. The king of Syria sent a gift by Naaman, of ten talents of silver, and six thousand pieces of gold, and ten changes of raiment. At the birth of the Saviour, the wise men who came from the East to worship him, after the custom of their country, opened their treasures, and presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.* Such presents were commonly made to an eastern prince at his elevation to the throne; and plainly intended on that occasion, as an explicit acknowledgment of his kingly office.† In a sublime description of his kingly government and extensive dominion, the following prediction, which then received its accomplishment, occurs:—'And he shall live, and to him shall be given of the gold of Sheba.'‡ To these costly gifts and offerings, presents of dresses were frequently added. Joseph gave to

* Matt. ii. 11.

† Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. ii. p. 11. Orme's Hist. &c. vol. ii. p. 181.

‡ Psalm lxxii. 15.

each of his brethren a change of raiment, but he gave five changes to Benjamin; and from the familiar manner in which the historian mentions the fact, we have a right to conclude that it was a common incident. The servant of Elisha received from Naaman the Syrian, of the presents intended for his master, two changes of raiment. The custom has descended to the present times; for according to D'Herbelot, Bokteri, an illustrious poet of Cufah, in the ninth century, had so many presents made him in the course of his life, that when he died, he was found possessed of an hundred complete suits of clothes, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbans.* This anecdote proves how frequently presents of this kind are made to persons of consideration in the Levant; and at the same time furnishes a beautiful illustration of that passage in the book of Job, where the afflicted patriarch describes the treasures of the East, in his time, as consisting of clothes and money:—'Though he heap up silver as the dust, and prepare raiment as the clay; he may prepare it; but the just shall put it on, and the innocent shall divide the silver.'†

It is not uncommon in some places, to send with articles of provision, vessels of different kinds, for the use of their friends. When Dr Perry visited the temple of Luxor, in Egypt, the cashiff there treated him and his party with many marks of civility and favour, sending them, in return for their presents, provisions of various kinds, and a sort of earthen vessels called bardacks, in which the orientals cool their water.‡ Basins and earthen vessels were, agreeably to this custom, presented to David and his company, by the people of Mahanaim; although the destitute condition of the king and his followers, is sufficient to account for their attention and liberality. The loyalty

* Presents of this kind are often made to those who are eminent for learning and piety.—*Editor.*

† Job xxvii. 16.

‡ Travels, pp. 356, 357.

and attachment of the orientals to their princes, are frequently displayed by presents of this kind. Every one at Tartoura, when D'Arvieux was there, vied with each other in bringing provisions of all kinds for the supper of an Arab emir, who happened to come into their neighbourhood.* Princes, to use the words of a modern writer, 'still expect to be furnished with provisions in time of need, as Barzillai and others supplied David at Mahanaim; and as such aid is a token of respect, and acknowledgment of the princes' authority, so to refuse it would be as great an insult now as it was in Saul's and Gideon's time.'†

Presents are commonly sent, even to persons in private station, with great parade. The money which the bridegrooms of Syria pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in clothes, jewels, and ornaments of gold for the bride, which are sent with great pomp to the bridegroom's house, three days before the wedding.‡ In Egypt they are not less ostentatious; every article of furniture, dress, and ornament is displayed, and they never fail to load upon four or five horses, what might easily be carried by one: in like manner, they place in fifteen dishes, the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, which a single plate would hold.§ The sacred writer seems to allude to some pompous arrangement of this kind, in the history of Joseph:—'And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon.' They probably separated into distinct parcels, and committed to so many bearers, the balm, the honey, the spices, the myrrh, the nuts, and the almonds, of which their present consisted. That which Ehud made to Eglon, the

* Harmer's Observations, vol ii. p. 310.

† 1 Sam. x. 27. Judges viii. 5–17. Princes and great men frequently give presents of money as a requital for their presents to distinguished strangers. Thus Joseph presented money to Benjamin, Gen. xlv. 22.

‡ Russel's Hist. vol. i. pp. 284, 285.

§ Maillet, Lett. x. p. 86.

king of Moab, seems to have been assorted and distributed in the same way; for says the historian, 'And when he had *made an end* to offer the present, he sent away the people that bare the present.'* From these words it may be concluded, that Ehud, according to general custom, exhibited before the king, with great distinctness and ceremony, every part of the present, borne by a number of people, whom he afterwards dismissed, that he might execute his ultimate design with greater secrecy and despatch. Another remarkable instance of this pompous ceremonial, occurs in the history of Benhadad, who sent a present to the prophet Elisha, consisting of the richest products of Damascus, on the backs of forty camels. The Syrian prince, on that occasion, in which he felt a particular interest, no doubt sent Elisha a present corresponding with his rank and magnificence; but it can scarcely be supposed that so many camels were required to carry it, or that the king would send, as a Jewish writer supposes he did, so great a quantity of provisions to one man. The meaning of the passage certainly is, that the various articles of which the present consisted, according to the modern custom of oriental courts, were carried on a number of camels for the sake of state, and that not fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade. That these camels were not fully laden, must be evident from this, that the common load of a Turcoman's camel is eight hundred pounds weight; and consequently, thirty-two thousand pounds weight is the proper loading of forty camels; 'if they were only of the Arab breed, twenty thousand pounds weight was their proper loading;' † a present, as Mr Harmer justly remarks, too enormous to be sent by any one person to another.

Taxes in Persia are commonly levied under the form of presents to the monarch. The usual presents are those made annually by all governors of provinces and

* Judges iii. 18. † Russel's History of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 166.

districts, chiefs of tribes, ministers and all others invested with high office, at the feast of the vernal equinox. These gifts are regulated by the nature of the office, and the wealth of the individual, and consist of the best of the produce of every part of the kingdom. Sometimes a large sum of money is given, which is always the most acceptable present. Allusive to this custom is that command in relation to Messiah :—'Let all that are round about him bring presents unto him that ought to be feared.'* Besides these ordinary presents, extraordinary largesses, of a less defined nature, but which are also of very considerable amount, are expected. Of this kind were, in the opinion of some writers, the presents which the enemies of Saul refused to bring, at his accession to the throne of Israel :—'But the children of Belial said, How shall this man save us? And they despised him, and brought him no presents. But he held his peace.' †

Gifts are often considered in the East as a species of tribute.‡ Of this kind seems to have been the present which Ehud made to Eglon, king of Moab, to whom the people of Israel were at that time in subjection. The presents of one prince or monarch to another, are frequently considered as a token of submission by him who receives them ; [nay, even those who are desirous of being thought on terms of friendship with great princes, although they may not be tributary, testify their feelings of respect or admiration, by the offering of yearly or occasional presents, of which an example occurs in the history of Solomon :—'All the kings of the earth sought the presence of Solomon, to hear his

* Psalm lxxvi. 11.

† 1 Sam. x. 27. Malcom's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. pp. 478, 479. Forbes' Orient. Mem. vol. ii. p. 11.

‡ Horses are frequently given as presents to princes and nobles in the East; and in Persia, asses. This seems also to have been the case anciently; as we find both Moses and Samuel, in appealing to the people as to the purity and justice of their administration, asking them, 'whose ass they had taken' (for riding on); Numb. xvi. 15; 1 Sam. xii. 3.—*Editor.*

wisdom that God had put in his heart; and they brought every man his present, vessels of silver and vessels of gold, and raiment, harness, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year.'*] Chardin remarks, that they are viewed in this light all over the Levant; and he justly applies the observation to these words of David:—'The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.'† And that the holy Psalmist here refers to tributary offerings, is evident from the next verse:—'Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him.'

In the days of Amos, the judges and governors of Israel had become so corrupt, that they did not blush to receive so paltry a bribe as a pair of shoes or sandals, as a bribe to favour the cause of one of the parties in a law-suit:—'They sold,' says the indignant prophet,' the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes.'‡ [In like manner, the Turkish magistrates, in many parts of Syria in the present day, corrupt the fountains of justice; a great part of the splendid dresses worn by themselves and their wives being presents received from parties who have suits in dependance before them.] But though presents of so very little value, as a pair of sandals or a flower, are sometimes received, the orientals do not consider themselves as always under obligation to accept what is offered, or even to dissemble their displeasure when the gift corresponds not with the dignity of the parties, or when a more valuable one has been bestowed upon another. An Egyptian aga refused to accept the trifling present of Dr Pococke; and Captain Norden experienced a similar repulse, when he waited on the cashiff of Esna with some small presents. He received him very civilly, and ordered coffee to be served; but he refused

* 2 Chron. ix. 23, 24.
† Psalm lxxii. 10. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii. p. 315.
‡ Amos ii. 6; viii. 6.

absolutely what he offered him as a present, and let him know, by the interpreter, that in the places from whence he had come, he had given things of greater value, and that he ought not to show less respect to him.* Chardin mentions another circumstance, which requires to be stated here, that it is a custom in Asia, for poor people, and especially for those that live in the country, to make presents to their lords of lambs and sheep, as an offering, tribute, or succession.† These two circumstances impart no little energy to the pointed expostulation of the prophet :—'If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor, will (even) *he* be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?'‡ Such a present is not suitable to his dignity to receive, and will therefore be rejected with scorn and indignation. He required the best of the flock, without which he would not be satisfied; and shall the Most High be treated with less respect, and not resent the indignity?

Presents are employed in the East, by way of subsidies, to induce princes to break their engagements, and take part in a war against their neighbours. An eastern nobleman, in the time of the crusades, quarrelling with his master, the prince of Aleppo, sent presents to Godfrey of Bouillon, to procure his aid. Asa, the king of Judah, employed the same means to break the league between the kings of Israel and Syria, and engage the latter to become a party in the war against the former. The incident is recorded in these words:—'Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in

* Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 183, 184.

† Lambs are the most acceptable and esteemed present to the grandees of Persia; and, of course, the presents to the English embassy consisted for the most part of live lambs, fruits, and sweetmeats. Indeed, lamb seems to be a principal article of food at every entertainment in the East: so much they delight, like the luxurious nobles of Israel, to 'eat the lambs out of the flock.'—*Morier's Trav.* vol. i. p. 101.

‡ Mal. i. 8.

the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hands of his servants : and king Asa sent them to Benhadad, the king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father : behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold : come, and break thy league with Basha, king of Israel, that he may depart from me.'*

Salutations at meeting are not less common in the East than in the countries of Europe ; but are generally confined to those of their own nation, or religious party.† When the Arabs salute each other, it is generally in these terms :—*Salaam aleikum*, peace be with you ; laying, as they utter the words, the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum essalaam*, with you be peace ; to which aged people are inclined to add, 'and the mercy and blessing of God.' The Mahommedans of Egypt and Syria never salute a Christian in these terms ; they content themselves with saying to them, 'Good day to you,' or, 'Friend, how do you do?'‡ Niebuhr's statement is confirmed by Mr Bruce, who says, that some Arabs, to whom he gave the salaam, or salutation of peace, either made no reply, or expressed their astonishment at his impertinence in using such freedom.§ Thus it appears that the orientals have two kinds of salutations ; one for strangers, and the other for their own countrymen, or persons of their own religious profession.

The Jews, in the days of our Lord, seem to have generally observed the same custom ; they would not

* 1 Kings xv. 18, 19. See Harmer's Observ. vol. ii. pp. 246, 325, 326.

† When a Persian enters an assembly, after having left his shoes without, he makes the usual salutation of 'Peace be unto you,' which is addressed to the whole assembly, as it were saluting the house. This practice corresponds with a command given by our Lord to his disciples :—'When ye come into an house, salute it.' Matt. x. 12. Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 144.

‡ Niebuhr's Descript. pp. 43, 44.

§ Travels, vol. i. p. 94 ; and vol. ii. p. 58.

address the usual compliment of 'Peace be to you,' to either heathens or publicans; the publicans of the Jewish nation would use it to their countrymen who were publicans, but not to heathens; though the more rigid Jews refused to do it either to publicans or heathens. Our Lord required his disciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and cherish a benevolent disposition towards all around them:—'If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?' They were bound by the same authority, to embrace their brethren in Christ with a special affection, yet they were to look upon every man as a brother, to feel a sincere and cordial interest in his welfare, and to express at meeting their benevolence, in language corresponding with the feelings of their hearts. This precept is not inconsistent with the charge which the prophet Elisha gave to his servant Gehazi, not to salute any man he met, nor return his salutation; for he wished the messenger to make all the haste in his power to restore the child of the Shunamite, who had laid him under so many obligations. The manners of the country rendered Elisha's precautions particularly proper and necessary, as the salutations of the East often take up a long time. For a similar reason, our Lord himself commanded his disciples on one occasion, to salute no man by the way; it is not to be supposed, that he would require his followers to violate or neglect an innocent custom, still less one of his own precepts; he only directed them to make the best use of their time in executing his work. This precaution was rendered necessary by the length of time which their tedious forms of salutation required. They begin their salutations at a considerable distance, by bringing the hand down to the knees, and then carrying it to the stomach. They express their devotedness to a person, by holding down the hand; as they do their affection by raising it afterwards to the heart. When they come close together, they take

each other by the hand in token of friendship. The country people at meeting, clap each other's hands very smartly twenty or thirty times together, without saying any thing more than, How do ye do? I wish you good health. After this first compliment, many other friendly questions are put about the health of the family, mentioning each of the children distinctly, whose names they know. To avoid this useless waste of time, rather than to indicate the meanness in which the disciples were to appear, as Mr Harmer conjectures, our Lord commanded them to avoid the customary salutations of those whom they might happen to meet by the way.* [The following may be given as examples of the exceedingly tedious salutations, and the minute inquiries of eastern people into the state of each other's health when they chance to meet. Two Arabs of the desert meeting, will stop and shake hands ten times, each kisses the other's hands, and still repeats the question, How art thou? Throughout, Arabs or persons who value themselves on their good breeding, use many compliments. Each acts as if he wished the other's hand, and draws back his own to avoid renewing the same honour. At length, to end the contest, the eldest of the two suffers the other to kiss his fingers. To inquire, says Burckhardt, after a person's health, the reason of his long absence, and to describe the great pleasure felt on seeing him, these are all questions and phrases, to each of which there is a precise or regular form of reply; and a person would be thought ridiculous or ill-bred, who attempted to answer in any other manner. Thus there are twenty different modes of wishing good morning to an acquaintance in Cairo; and, if a person says, 'may your day be white,' there is not absolutely any answer left, but, 'may yours be like milk.' This quarter of the world, says Mr Jowett, is indeed the place for good wishes, and overflowing

* Maillet, Letter xi. pp. 137, 138. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 331.

compliments. Every passer-by has his 'God bless you.' Conversation is, sometimes, among strangers, made up of a very large proportion of these phrases; for example, 'good morning;' answer, 'may your day be enriched,'—'by seeing you.' 'You have enlightened the house by your presence.' 'Are you happy?' 'Happy; and you also?' 'Happy.' 'You are comfortable.' 'I am comfortable,' meaning, 'I am comfortable if you are.' These sentences are often repeated; and, after any pause, it is usual to turn to your neighbour, and resume these courtesies many times. Nay, their notions of civility extend not only to the stranger they meet, but to every thing connected with him, as we learn from another traveller, who says, he was accosted by an acquaintance, who kept alongside of him, detaining him with an inexhaustible succession of inquiries like the following: How art thou thyself? How are your wife, your sons, and daughters? your horses and camels? Praised be God thou art arrived in peace! God grant thee peace! Well, how dost thou do? This endless profusion of compliments is deemed absolutely necessary to show due honour and respect to an individual, and the want or intentional withholding of those customary civilities is one of the strongest marks of contempt and degradation that can be imagined. Hence the Psalmist, describing the fall of the wicked, uses this form of expression: Neither do they which go by say, the blessing of the Lord be upon you; we bless you in the name of the Lord.*]

The orientals vary their salutations according to the rank of the persons whom they address. The common method of expressing good will, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and inclining their bodies a little;† but when they salute a person of rank, they bow almost to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment.

* In the old English version of the Bible this is rendered, 'we wish you good luck in the name of the Lord.'—*Editor.*

† His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me.—Song ii. 6.—*Editor.*

The two Greek noblemen at Scio, who introduced the travellers Egmont and Heyman to the Chan of Tartary, kissed his robe at their entrance, and took leave of him with the same ceremony. Sandys was present when the grand signior himself paid his people the usual compliment, by riding in great state through the streets of Constantinople. He saluted the multitude as he moved along, having the right hand constantly on his breast, bowing first to the one side, and then to the other, when the people with a low and respectful voice, wished him all happiness and prosperity.* Dr Shaw's account of the Arabian compliment, or common salutation, Peace be unto you, agrees with these statements; but he observes further, that inferiors, out of deference and respect, kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments of their superiors.†

All these forms of salutation appear to have been in general use in the days of our Lord, for he represents a servant as falling down at the feet of his master, when he had a favour to ask; and an inferior servant, as paying the same compliment to the first, who belonged, it would seem, to a higher class:—'The servant, therefore, fell down and worshipped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me and I will pay thee all.' 'And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, have patience with me and I will pay thee all.'‡ When Jairus solicited the Saviour to go and heal his daughter, he fell down at his feet: the apostle Peter, on another occasion, seems to have fallen

* Sandys' Travels, p. 50, part i. p. 87. See also Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 327-343.

† Travels, vol. i. p. 426. [A late traveller who accompanied an English consul on a visit to the chief of Tripoli, says, that the two interpreters of the consul kissed the chief's garment, and put it to their foreheads.]—*Editor.* They frequently kiss the hand also; but this last seems not to be regarded as a token of equal submission with the others; for D'Arvieux observes, that the women who wait on the Arabian princesses, kiss their hands when they do them the favour not to suffer them to kiss their feet, or the border of their robe.—Travels, p. 252.

‡ Matthew xviii. 26, 29.

down at his knees, in the same manner as the modern Arabs fall down at the knees of a superior. The woman who was afflicted with an issue of blood, touched the hem of his garment; and the Syrophenician woman fell down at his feet. In Persia, the salutation among intimate friends is made by inclining the neck over each other's necks, and then inclining cheek to cheek; which Mr Morier thinks is most likely the falling upon the neck and kissing, so frequently mentioned in Scripture,* as in the conduct of Esau and Jacob, of Joseph to his brethren, and the father to his returning prodigal.

Mr Harmer contends, that Cornelius the centurion, when he fell down at the feet of the apostle Peter and worshipped him, did not intend to pay him divine honours, but merely to salute him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive, in the ceremonious East. He allows there was something extraordinary in the behaviour of Cornelius, but no mixture of idolatry.† But it is to be feared the verdict which this respectable writer pronounces for the excellent Roman, is too favourable. The apostles did not at other times refuse the common tokens of respect and civility from those around them; and, if the act of Cornelius meant no more, the refusal cannot be accounted for, upon the common principles of human nature. But the words of the evangelist ought to decide the question; he says expressly that Cornelius worshipped him;‡ προσεκυνησεν, the term which Luke and other inspired writers commonly use to express the homage which is due only to the Supreme Being. This term, it is admitted, is often employed by writers, both sacred and profane, to denote merely civil respect; but it cannot with propriety be so understood here, because the reason which the apostle assigned for his refusal, derives all its propriety

* Genesis xxxiii. 4; xlv. 14; and Luke xv. 20. Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 126.

† Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 339. ‡ Acts x. 25, 26.

and force from religious worship :—'Stand up; I myself also am a man.' But surely it is not inconsistent with the character of a man to receive an extraordinary token of respect from another. Mr Harmer thinks the conduct of the apostle John, in throwing himself at the feet of the angel, is to be viewed in a somewhat different light. 'John did nothing at all,' says that author, 'but what was conformable to the usages of his own country, when the people of it designed innocently to express great reverence and gratitude.' But if the apostle meant only to express by his prostration, the ordinary feelings of civil respect, why did the angel refuse it; and that because he was one of his fellow-servants? That it was actually more than civil respect—that it was really divine honours which John meant, in the tumult of his feelings, or from a mistaken view of the angel's character, to pay, is quite evident from the charge which the celestial messenger gave him, to render unto God the homage which he intended at this time for him. But surely God is not the proper object of civil respect, but of religious adoration; and, therefore, it must have been the latter which John intended. Though he was a Jew by descent, an enemy to all idolatry, and a zealous preacher against it, still he was but a man of like passions with others; and although under the supernatural influence of the divine Spirit, as an apostle, he was not infallible as a Christian, and by consequence he was liable, highly favoured as he certainly was, to deviate from the path of duty; and had he not at this time done a very improper thing, the angel had not reproved him, nor used terms so expressive of his abhorrence :—'See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book; worship God.'* That his conduct on this memorable occasion, had at least a mixture of idolatry, is evident from

* Revelations xxii. 9

the command he received, to reserve such homage for God alone, to whom it is due.

The forms of salutation in the East wear a much more serious and religious air than those in use among the nations of Europe. 'God be gracious unto thee, my son,' were the words which Joseph addressed to his brother Benjamin. In this country, it would be called a benediction; but Chardin asserts, that in Asia it is a simple salutation, and used there instead of those offers and assurances of service, which it is the custom to use in the West. The orientals, indeed, are exceedingly eloquent in wishing good and the mercy of God on all occasions to one another, even to those they scarcely know; and yet their compliments are as hollow and deceitful as those of any other people. This appears from Scripture, to have been always their character:—'They bless with their mouths, but they curse inwardly;' 'out of the same mouth cometh blessing and cursing.' These benedictory forms explain the reason, why the sacred writers so frequently call the salutation and farewell of the East, by the name of blessing.*

The attitudes and expressions of respect, which the rules of good breeding require from the oriental, are far more diversified and servile than ours; yet he uses a freedom with his equals, and even with persons of superior condition, which we are uniformly taught to regard as improper. It is reckoned among us a sure mark of vulgarity, in any person to mention his own name before that of his equal; and an instance of great arrogance to name himself before his superior; but in the East, it is quite customary for the speaker to name himself first.† This was also the habitual practice in Israel, and quite consistent with their notions of good breeding: for David, who had been long at the court of Saul, and could be no stranger to the rules of good manners, addressed his sovereign in these words:—'The Lord judge between me and thee;' and this at

* Harmer's Obs. vol. ii. p. 344. † Ibid. p. 343

a time, too, when he treated that prince with great reverence ; for ' he stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself' immediately before. In the same manner, Ephraim the Hittite replied to the patriarch Abraham, who was at least his equal, more probably his superior :—' My lord, hearken unto me ; the land is worth four hundred shekels of silver ; what is that between me and thee.'* Hence, David was guilty of no rudeness to Saul, in naming himself first ; his conduct was quite agreeable to the modern ceremonial of eastern courts, at least to that of Persia, which seems to have been established soon after the flood.†

The most abject submission is required by an eastern conqueror from those whom he has vanquished. They fall prostrate on the ground before him ; they kiss his feet, and the very ground upon which he treads. D'Herbelot mentions an eastern prince, who threw himself one day on the ground, and kissed the marks which the feet of his conqueror's horse had left there.‡ These were the proofs which custom probably required, of complete subserviency to the will of a master ; the unequivocal tokens of entire vassalage.

Such is the submission which the most fearless and independent nations of the earth shall one day yield to the Messiah :—' They that dwell in the wilderness,' the wild Arabs, whom no conqueror could ever subdue, no politician ever tame, ' shall bow before him,' or become his vassals ; ' and his enemies shall lick the dust,' or betray their fear and reverence, by the most lowly submission. Kings and princes have actually prostrated themselves in the dust before their conquerors ; and, therefore, the language in which the prophet foretels the glory of the church in the latter

* Gen. xxiii. 15.

† The same style of self-preference runs through the classic languages. Hence the arrogant and ambitious Wolsey pleaded the Latin idiom as his excuse for putting his own name before the king's, in his official papers, Ego et rex meus.—*Editor.*

‡ Trav. p. 436 ; and Morier's Trav. vol. i. p. 172.

days—'Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face to the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet,'—are not extravagant figures of oriental rhetoric, but expressive of those acts of dutiful submission, which the customs of eastern countries require.

To kiss the hand and place it on the head, is a token of respect less revolting to our minds, than some of those which have been mentioned. An oriental pays his respects to a person of superior station, by kissing his hand, and putting it to his forehead; but if the superior be of a condescending temper, he will snatch away his hand, as soon as the other has touched it; then the inferior puts his own fingers to his lips, and afterwards to his forehead.* It seems, according to Pitts, to be a common practice among the Mohammedans, that when they cannot kiss the hand of a superior, they kiss their own, and put it to their forehead; thus also they venerate an unseen being, whom they cannot touch.† But the custom existed long before the age of Mohammed; for in the same way, the ancient idolaters worshipped their distant or unseen deities. 'If,' said Job, 'I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart has been secretly enticed, or my mouth has kissed my hand; this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above.'‡ Had the afflicted man done this, in the case to which he refers, it would have been an idolatrous action, although it is exactly agreeable to the civil expressions of respect which obtained in this country, and over all the East.

Sometimes they express their love and veneration, by taking hold of the beard and giving it a kiss. D'Arvieux was present at an Arabian entertainment, to which came

* D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 252.

† Trav. p. 66. Pococke's Trav. vol. ii. p. 76. Norden's Trav. part ii. pp. 35, 36.

‡ Job xxxi. 26-28.

all the neighbouring emirs, a little while after his arrival, accompanied by their friends and attendants; and after the usual civilities, caresses, kissings of the beard, and of the hand, which every one gave and received, according to his rank and dignity, they sat down upon mats. In was in this way perhaps, that Joab pretended to testify his respect for Amasa, his rival in the favour of the king; he took him by the beard to kiss him, or, agreeably to the custom of these emirs, or Arabian chieftains, to kiss the beard itself; and, in this stooping posture, he could much better see to direct the blow, than if he had only held his beard, and raised himself to kiss his face;* while Amasa, charmed by this high compliment, which was neither suspicious nor unusual, and undoubtedly, returning it with corresponding politeness, paid no attention to the sword in the hand of his murderer. It is extremely probable that Judas betrayed his Lord in the same way, by kissing his beard. The evangelists Matthew and Mark say, that he came directly to Jesus, and said, Hail Master, and kissed him; but Luke seems to hint, that Judas saluted him with more respect. Jesus, according to Matthew, had time to say, before he received the kiss from Judas, 'Friend, wherefore art thou come?' and while Judas was kissing his beard, Jesus might express himself with great ease and propriety as Luke relates, 'Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?'†

Intimate acquaintances sometimes kissed the shoulder of each other.‡ This token of regard was probably shown by Esau to his brother, at their meeting; the words of Moses are, 'And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.'§ And it is very probable, that all those texts which speak of falling on the neck, and kissing a person, refer to this eastern custom, of kissing the shoulder in an embrace.

* Harmer's Obs. vol. ii. p. 357.
† Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.
‡ Odyss. lib. xxii. l. 499.
§ Gen. xxxiii. 4.

A rider was expected to dismount when he met a person of elevated rank. Under the influence of this ancient custom, the Egyptians dismount from their asses when they approach the tombs of their departed saints ; and both Christians and Jews are obliged to submit to the same ceremony. Christians in that country must also dismount when they happen to meet with officers of the army.* In Palestine, the Jews, who are not permitted to ride on horseback, are compelled to dismount from their asses and pass by a Mohammedan on foot.† This explains the reason that Achsah, the daughter of Caleb, and Abigail the wife of Nabal, alighted from their asses ; it was a mark of respect which the former owed to her father, and the latter to David, a person of high rank and growing renown. It was undoubtedly for the same reason, that Rebecca alighted from the camel on which she rode, when the servant informed her, that the stranger whom she descried at a distance in the field, was his master ; and that Naaman, the Syrian grandee, alighted from his chariot, at the approach of Gehazi, the servant of Elisha.

The ceremonial of the orientals does not end with the introduction of persons to one another, but continues during the whole visit. The most scrupulous attention is paid by all parties to the established tokens of respect ; the posture of the body, the part of the room, and other circumstances, are all regulated by custom, to whose imperious dictates they have implicitly submitted from the remotest antiquity. One of the postures, by which a person testifies his respect for a superior, is by sitting upon his heels, which is considered as a token of great humility. In this manner, says Dr Pococke, resting the muscular portion of their body and upturned heels on their hams, sat the attend-

* Pococke's Trav. vol. i. p. 35. Hasselquist, p. 425.

† Chandler's Trav, p. 200. Niebuhr's Description, p. 39. Buckingham's Trav. vol, ii. p. 322.

ants of the English consul, when he waited on the Caia of the Pasha of Tripoli. It was in this humble posture, probably, that David, the king of Israel, sat before the Lord in the sanctuary, when he blessed him for his gracious promise concerning his family; half sitting and half kneeling, so as to rest the body upon the heels. This entirely removes the ground of perplexity which some expositors have felt, in their attempts to elicit a meaning from the phrase, 'sitting before the Lord,' at once consistent with the majesty of Jehovah, and the humility of the worshipper: for this attitude expressed, among the orientals, the deepest humility, and, by consequence, was every way becoming a worshipper of the true God.

To sit, as we do, on a seat, was, on the contrary, a mark of distinction, particularly if it was furnished with a cushion. Chardin says, it is the custom in Asia not to go into the shops, which are very small, but to sit down in seats prepared for the purpose on the outside, on which cushions are laid for persons of distinction: and he adds, that people of quality cause carpets and cushions to be carried wherever they please, that they may repose themselves upon them more agreeably. To a custom of this kind, Job seems to refer in his mournful retrospect of departed prosperity: —'When I went out to the gate through the city; when I prepared my seat in the street.'* This patriarch was a prince and a judge among his people, and was, therefore, entitled to take his seat in the gate, which was the ordinary place of hearing causes in the East, attended by a retinue of servants, with carpets and cushions for his accommodation, according to his rank, and the office he sustained.

But it was a mark of higher distinction to sit in the corner, than upon a seat. At a visit which the English consul made to the pasha of Tripoli, the latter, having on the garment of ceremony, gave the wel-

* Job xxix. 7.

come as he passed, and sat down cross-legged in the corner to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them behind him. When Dr Pococke, who relates this incident, was introduced to the sheich of Tourshout, he found him sitting in the corner of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and on a visit to the bey of Girgè, he found him placed on a sofa on the right hand, as one entered, in the corner of his tent.* Hence it appears, that in the East, the corner on the right, as one enters the apartment, is the place of honour. When Mr Martyn visited Mirza Abulcasim, one of the most renowned soofies in all Persia, he found several persons sitting in an open court, in which a few greens and flowers were placed; the master in a corner †

This may, perhaps, enable us to explain a passage which has long exercised the patience and ingenuity of expositors.—'As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria, in the corner of a bed, and in Damascus in a couch,'‡ only a very few of the meanest and lowest of the people shall escape from the hand of their destroyers. Such shall be the fate of Samaria, that holds among the cities of Israel the place of honour, equally distinguished as the seat of power, the centre of wealth, and the chosen resort of rank and fashion. The situation of Samaria perfectly corresponds with this interpretation; this rich and powerful city was built on the summit of a hill, in the midst of a beautiful country.§

* Pococke's Travels. † Memoir of H. Martyn. ‡ Amos iii. 12.

§ This view of the passage, which is equally ingenious and just, the author has borrowed from Harmer, but in quoting the explanation that writer has given of the meaning of 'dwelling in Samaria, in the corner of a bed,' he seems entirely to have overlooked the circumstance that there is another city, Damascus, mentioned, to which the observations he has made in the text are not applicable. Mr Harmer, with great plausibility, defends the opinion, that as the prophet had obviously one place only, viz. Samaria, in his eye, Damascus is not here to be taken as a proper name, but merely as indicating the couch or divan to con-

This custom also serves to illustrate another passage of Scripture :—'Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them into corners,' or as it is in the original, thou didst divide or appoint them 'to the corner.' The verb is *Halak*, which, in another passage, is used to express the designation of Aaron's sons to their various offices. The meaning of Nehemiah, interpreted by this custom is, 'Thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst also give the pre-eminence to Israel, and make them chief among the surrounding states.*

Odoriferous ointments and perfumes were often presented by the great as a particular mark of distinction.† The king of Babylon treated the prophet Daniel with the richest perfumes, after he had predicted the future destinies of his empire, as a distinguished proof of his esteem and admiration :—'Then the king, Nebuchadnezzar, fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him.'‡ This passage, Mr Harmer considers as exceedingly difficult; and he labours hard to prove that the king meant nothing more than civil respect.§ 'Nebuchadnezzar, in all this matter, appeared to have considered Daniel merely as a prophet: his words strongly express this, "your God is a God of gods;" and had it been otherwise, a person so zealous as Daniel, who risked his life, rather than neglect his homage to his God, and had the courage to pray to him with his windows open

sist of stuffs of Damascus manufacture. According to this interpretation, which is supported by the high authority of Dr Adam Clarke, Amos is to be understood as saying, as a shepherd saves a small portion of a sheep, or a goat, out of the jaws of a lion, so though the rest of the country shall be miserably destroyed, they shall escape, that sit (or dwell) in Samaria in the corner of the divan, on the *damask mattress;* the royal and most beautiful of all the cities of Israel.—*Editor.*

* Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 368.

† Maundrell's Journey, pp. 30, 31. Maillet, Lett. i. p. 6.

‡ Dan. ii. 46. § Observ. vol. ii. p. 389.

toward Jerusalem, contrary to the king's command, would undoubtedly, like Paul and Barnabas, have rejected these odours.' This view completely vindicates the prophet from the charge of conniving at the idolatry of the king; but it is not necessary to his defence. The conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, it is allowed, admits of a favourable construction; but, at the same time, it is scarcely possible to avoid the suspicion that he was, on this memorable occasion, guilty of idolatrous veneration. The verb *sagad*, he worshipped, so far as the writer has been able to trace it, both in Hebrew and Chaldee, expresses the homage which is rendered to a god, and is, perhaps, universally applied to the worship of false deities in the sacred Scriptures. If this remark be just, it is greatly to be suspected that Nebuchadnezzar, who had few, or no correct religious principles to restrain the sudden movements of his impetuous passions, did intend, on that occasion, to honour Daniel as a god, or, which is not materially different, to worship the divinity in the prophet. But it may be demanded, how then is Daniel to be vindicated? Shall we suppose that a prophet of the Lord, a man highly favoured and distinguished for his eminent holiness, would suffer idolatry to be practised in his presence, more especially when he himself was the object of it, without expressing his disapprobation? To this objection, the following answer is offered. The sacred writers, studious of extreme brevity, often pass over many incidents in the scenes which they describe. Daniel, therefore, might actually reject the intended honour, although it is not mentioned in the record. This silence of the historian will not prove that it was not done, while there are certain circumstances in the narrative which go far to prove that the prophet did reject the homage of Nebuchadnezzar. In the 28th verse of the second chapter, he solemnly declares before the king and the whole court, that 'It is the God of heaven that revealeth secrets, and makes known to the

king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days;' and the 30th verse, 'But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living.' When these faithful declarations are considered, it is not to be supposed that Daniel neglected to remind the king that religious worship is due to God alone; and that such a testimony was given at the time, is intimated with considerable clearness in the confession of the king himself, verse 47th, which seems to refer to something the prophet had just said to him: 'The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a Revealer of secrets, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret.' The character of Daniel, therefore, is not affected by the misconduct of his sovereign, in paying him divine honours.

In the reign of Belshazzar, he received an honour of a different and less equivocal kind: 'They clothed him with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler in the kingdom.' This custom of changing the dress of a person, as a mark of honour, is still common in the East. The words of the record, although not quite decisive, seem to favour the idea that the change of dress was a part of the ceremony by which Daniel was invested with official authority, and not a distinct honour. In Hindostan, no governor or other officer, can enter upon his office, without receiving a dress of honour from his sovereign. These dresses are conferred by a superior on a person of humbler condition, when he is raised to a place of power and trust, or as a mark of esteem and approbation.* This custom, the Hindoos probably borrowed from the Persians; and if so, Daniel's change of dress was an established sign of his accession to the high dignity which he so well deserved. In ages long anterior to the reign

* Maurice's Hist. of Hindostan, vol. iii. p. 328. Norden's Trav. part ii. pp. 96, 97. Thevenot's Trav. part i. p. 85.

of Nebuchadnezzar, Joseph was invested with the office of ruler over all the land of Egypt by a similar ceremony: 'Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck.' The robes of office, with which Mordecai the Jew was arrayed in the court of Ahasuerus, were still more gorgeous, for he 'went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple.'* From these quotations it appears, that the investiture consisted of various ceremonies; the appointment was no sooner announced, than the monarch took the ring from his hand, and put it on the finger of the minister; then he changed his dress; then put a gold chain about his neck; and last of all presented him with an equipage corresponding with his dignity, which completed the investiture.†

In Abyssinia, the governor of Tigré, who is at the same time the greatest man in the kingdom, has the privilege to use a gold cup for drinking, which he received from his sovereign as an appendage to his office.‡ Such, it is probable, was Joseph's cup,§ out of which he drank on public occasions, which he might be supposed greatly to value, and to preserve with jealous care. If this conjecture be well founded, it serves to account, in a more satisfactory manner, for the astonishment and terror which overwhelmed his brethren, when they found it in Benjamin's sack. To abstract a single article from the house of one who had entertained them so kindly, was peculiarly disgraceful; but to purloin the cup of office, which belonged to the prime minister of Egypt, was to involve them all in utter and inevitable destruction.‖

* Esth. viii. 15. † Vide first vol. p. 349.

‡ Bruce's Trav. vol. ii. p. 657.

§ Joseph's cup, however, was of silver; although Josephus, deviating from the inspired historian, describes it as gold.—*Editor.*

‖ Calmet, vol. iii. [That divining cups have been used by great men in

The caffetan, or robe of honour, is often bestowed as a mark of distinction, without any reference to office. La Roque, and three other attendants on the French consul at Sidon, received each a robe of honour at a public audience, from Ishmael, the Turkish basha.* In China, the agents of foreign powers are sometimes invested, by order of the emperor, with dresses of honour.† Mr Bruce also was favoured with this mark of distinction by Osman, one of the beys of Egypt, on his return from Abyssinia,—which operated an immediate and important change to the better, in the sentiments and conduct of the persons to whose care he was committed; the haughty Mussulmans no sooner beheld him retire from the presence chamber, with this mark of their master's regard, than laying aside the brutality in which they indulged before, they became civil, attentive, and even obsequious, to the stranger, whom they still secretly hated or despised.‡ The kings of Persia bestow a dress of honour upon their favourites, particularly on occasion of their great festivals.§

Mr Lowth supposes, in his Commentary on Daniel, that, although the king thought himself bound to per-

the East from the earliest ages, is attested by various unimpeachable authorities. 'During Norden's detention on the confines of Egypt, where he and his friends were taken for spies, a spiteful and powerful Arab, in a threatening way, told one of their people, whom they sent to him, that he knew what sort of people they were; that he *consulted his cup*, and had discovered by it that they were the persons of whom one of their seers had said, that Franks would come in disguise, and passing every where, examine the state of the country, and afterwards bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all!' What the viceroy that Norden met alluded to, Dr Clarke says, was the famous *divining cup* of Jemsheed, which was supposed to represent the whole world, and all that was passing in it. The oriental fabulists suppose that both Alexander the Great, and Solomon, king of Israel, had such a cup, and that they divined by it. The Egyptian governor, to terrify Norden, pretended that he had a cup of the same high pretensions.—*Editor.*

* Voy. dans la Palest. vol. i. p. 16. † Trav. vol. vi. p. 532.

‡ Asiatic Journal for June 1824, p. 632.

§ Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 69.

form his promise to clothe the venerable seer with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and make him third ruler in the kingdom, yet it was likely it could not take effect at that unseasonable time of the night; and, therefore, that the words might have been better translated :—'Then commanded Belshazzar that they should clothe Daniel with scarlet.' But this is an unnecessary refinement; for these caffetans are always in readiness, and are commonly put on as soon as the command is given. Mr Bruce received the caffetan in the middle of the night; and the following passage from Chardin will show how easy it is for an oriental prince to put a garment on the person he intends to honour. Having observed, that in Persia and the Indies, they not only give a vestment, but even a complete suit of clothes, when they would distinguish a person with more than ordinary honour, he proceeds :—'These presents of vestments are only from superiors to inferiors; not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great. Kings constantly give them to ambassadors, residents, and envoys; and send them to princes who are their tributaries, and do them homage. They pay great attention to the quality, or merit, of those to whom these vestments, or habits, are given; they are always answerable to their rank. Those that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state. The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. The intendant of the wardrobe sends one of them to the person, as the great master orders, and of that kind the order directs. In Turkey, they pay little attention to the difference of the cloth of which the vestments are made; they make them nearly of the same value, but they give more or fewer, according to the dignity of the person to whom they are presented, or the degree in which they wish to honour him. Some

ambassadors have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themselves and their attendants; and one person sometimes receives a number for himself, according to his rank.'* But besides the caffetan, an eastern prince sometimes gives his own garment as the highest token of respect; thus Selim gave his robe to the Iman of the mosque of Aleppo, who happened to please him greatly. [When a treaty between Russia and Persia was concluded some years ago, in the commencement of the deed, according to the usual form, the ranks of the two principal persons who were deputed to arrange it, had to be specified. The Russian general was found to have more titles than the Persian plenipotentiary, who was therefore at a loss how to make himself appear of equal importance with the other negotiator; but, at length, recollecting that, previous to his departure for the conference, his sovereign had honoured him by a present of one of his own swords, and of a dagger set with precious stones, to wear which is a peculiar distinction in Persia, and besides had *clothed him with one of his own shawl robes*, a distinction of still greater value, he therefore designated himself as 'endowed with the special gift of the monarch, lord of the dagger set in jewels, and of the sword adorned with gems, and of the shawl coat *already worn*.'†] But the custom existed in these countries long before this time, for Jonathan, as a proof of his tender affection, and the strongest confirmation of his unalterable friendship, 'stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.' ‡

* Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. pp. 394, 395. See also Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14. [It is the prerogative of kings only to give presents of so large a number, and that only to ambassadors, or persons of public character and exalted dignity. Five changes of raiment are reckoned, in ordinary cases, a high compliment to private individuals, and the reader will remember that was the number Joseph bestowed on his favourite brother, Benjamin.]—*Editor.*

† Morier's Second Journey.

‡ 1 Samuel xviii. 4. See also Calmet, vol. iii. Malcolm's History,

Oriental princes sometimes distinguish their favourites by giving them particular names, expressing familiarity and delight, which they do not communicate to others, or use to themselves, except at those times when they honour them with the most familiar conversation. A trace of this singular custom may be discovered in the promise addressed to the angel of the church in Pergamos :—'To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.'* Or, as a name given to any person must be known to others, else it would be given in vain, it intimates, that honour should be conferred upon such a one, which shall only be known to the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received that honour themselves. [The allusion in this passage seems rather to be to an ancient custom among the Romans, by which they cultivated and preserved a lasting friendship between particular persons or families. The method of doing this was usually by a small piece of bone or ivory, and sometimes of stone, shaped in the form of an oblong square, which they called a tessera or tally. This they divided lengthwise into two equal parts, upon each of which one of the parties wrote his friend's name, and interchanged it with the other, and, by producing this when they travelled, it gave a mutual claim to the contracting parties and their descendants, of reception and kind treatment at each other's houses, for which reason it was called the *hospitable tessera*. Hence came the proverbial expression of *breaking the hospitable tessera*, which was applied to those who violated their engagements. But our translators, by rendering it a *white stone*, seem to have confounded it with the *calculus*, a small globular stone, which was

vol. i. p. 454. Morier's Travels, vol. i. pp. 299, 300. Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 399.

* Revelations ii. 17. Burder 1, ob. 585.

made use of in balloting, and on other occasions. The original words do not specify the matter or form, but only the use of it ; by this allusion, therefore, the promise made to the church of Pergamos seems to be to this purpose,—That the faithful among them should hereafter be acknowledged by Christ, and received into a state of favour and perpetual friendship ; and to this sense the following words very well agree, which describe this stone or tessera as having in it a *new name written*, which no man knoweth, saving he that *receiveth it*,—' For, as the name in the Roman tessera was not that of the person who wrote it, but of his friend who possessed it, so it was known only to the possessor, who doubtless kept it both privately and with great care, that no other person might enjoy the benefit of it, which was designed only for himself and his family.'*]

But besides the secret name of intimate familiarity, the oriental princes frequently distinguished their favourite subjects by a new name, commonly taken from some remarkable occurrence, by which they were to be known in future life. Pharaoh gave a new name to Joseph after he had interpreted the dream, alluding to that circumstance ;† another Egyptian monarch, when he made Eliakim king over Judah and Jerusalem, turned his name to Jehoiakim ; when Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachim, and made Mattaniah, his father's brother, king in his stead, he changed his name to Zedekiah ; and the same monarch called Daniel by the name of Belteshazzar, and gave names respectively

* Ward's Dissertations.

† The name Zaphnath-paaneah, which was given to Joseph, is purely Egyptian, and is more accurately expressed in the Septuagint translation by Psotomphaneh. This word signifies Saviour of the land, and was bestowed upon Joseph, because, by his wise counsel, Egypt was delivered from the ruin which threatened it, by seven years of famine. This title is quite conformable to the pompous official style of the East.—*Rosenmuller.* This interpretation of Joseph's name seems to be more correct than the margin of our Bibles, which renders it, revealer of secrets.—*Editor.*

to his three companions on their elevation to offices of high responsibility and influence. When the Koosas, an African tribe, wish to do honour to any person, they also give him a new name, the meaning of which nobody knows but the person who gives it. This mark of distinction is particularly bestowed upon any white people that come among them, and remain with them for any time. It is incomprehensible how soon a stranger is known throughout the country by his new appellation.* The same custom is preserved by the Seneca Indians of North America. To give one a new name, and especially their own, they consider as the highest honour they can bestow, and reserve it for particular favourites. They begin with a speech, in which they explain the reason for naming the person; then they ask him if he accepts the name; and on being answered in the affirmative, chaunt in a very curious manner, the song which they use at naming their children, and when that is finished, they shake hands with the person, and call him by his new name. No reasonable doubt can be entertained, that these customs, which are found to prevail among tribes and nations so widely scattered, and so differently circumstanced, may be traced to one origin.

The kings of Persia very seldom admitted a subject to their table. Athenæus mentions it as a peculiar honour, which no Grecian enjoyed before or after, that Artaxerxes condescended to invite Timogoras, the Cretan, to dine even at the table where his relations ate; and to send sometimes a part of what was served up at his own; which some persons looked upon as a diminution of his majesty, and a prostitution of their national honour. Plutarch, in his life of Artaxerxes, tells us, that none but the king's mother, and his chief wife, were permitted to sit at his table: and he therefore mentions it as a condescension in that prince, that he sometimes invited his brothers. Haman, the prime

* Leichstein's Travels in South Africa.

minister of Ahasuerus, had therefore some reason to plume himself upon the invitation which he received, to dine with the king :—'Haman said, yea, Esther the queen let no man come in with the king, unto the banquet which she had prepared, but myself; and to-morrow am I invited unto her also with the king.'*

The same ambitious minister received another mark of great distinction from his master :—'The king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman.' This he did, both as a token of affection and honour; for when the king of Persia gives a ring to any one, it is a token and bond of the greatest love and friendship. 'Here also,' says Mr Forbes, 'we see an exact description of the mode of conferring honour on the favourite of a sovereign, a princely dress, a horse, and a ring; these are now the usual presents to foreign ambassadors, and between one Indian prince and another.†

Oriental females express their respect for persons of high rank, by gently applying one of their hands to their mouths; a custom which seems to have existed from time immemorial. In some of the towns of Barbary, the leaders of the sacred caravans are received with loud acclamations, and every expression of the warmest regard. The women view the parade from the tops of the houses, and testify their satisfaction by striking their four fingers on their lips, as fast as they can, all the while making a joyful noise.‡ The sacred writers perhaps allude to this custom, in those passages where clapping the hand in the singular number is mentioned. Striking the hand smartly upon the other, which we call clapping the hands, was also used to express joy, in the same manner as among ourselves; but in the East it appears to have been generally employed to denote a malignant satisfaction, a triumphant or insulting joy. In this way, the enemies of Jerusalem expressed their satisfaction, at the fall

* Esther v. 12. Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. ii. p. 183.
† Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 198. ‡ Pitt's Trav. p. 85.

of that great and powerful city :—'All that pass by clap their hands at thee ; they hiss, and wag their head at the daughter of Jerusalem, saying,—Is this the city that men call the perfection of beauty, the joy of the whole earth.'* And Job, after describing the destruction of a wicked man, says,—'Men shall clap their hands at him, and shall hiss him out of his place.' But other words that are translated in our version, clapping the hands, denote no more than the gentle application of *one* hand to the lips, or some part of the body, as a testimony of approbation and delight. This allusion is perhaps involved in David's invitation,—'O clap your hands, all ye people (in the original, *hand*) ; shout unto God with the voice of triumph ;'† and in the mode in which the people expressed their joy, when Jehoash ascended the throne of his ancestors ; they 'clapped their hands (in Hebrew, the *hand*), and said, God save the king.'‡

When a great prince in the East sets out on a journey, it is usual to send a party of men before him, to clear the way. The state of those countries in every age, where roads are almost unknown, and, from the want of cultivation in many parts, overgrown with brambles, and other thorny plants, which renders travelling, especially with a large retinue, very incommodious, requires this precaution. The emperor of Hindostan, in his progress through his dominions, as described in the narrative of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the court of Delhi, was preceded by a very great company, sent before him to cut up the trees and bushes, to level and smooth the road, and prepare their place of encampment.§ Balin, who swayed the imperial sceptre of India, had five hundred chosen men in rich livery, with their drawn sabres, who ran before him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. Nor was this honour reserved exclusively for the reign-

* Lam. ii. 15. † Psalm xlvii. 1. ‡ 2 Kings xi. 12.
§ Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain, p. 468.

ing emperor ; it was often shown to persons of royal birth. When an Indian princess made a visit to her father, the roads were directed to be repaired, and made clear for her journey ; fruit trees were planted, water vessels placed on the road side, and great illuminations prepared for the occasion.* Mr Bruce gives nearly the same account of a journey which the king of Abyssinia made through a part of his dominions. The chief magistrate of every district through which he had to pass, was, by his office, obliged to have the roads cleared, levelled, and smoothed ; and he mentions that a magistrate of one of the districts having failed in this part of his duty, was, together with his son, immediately put to death on the spot, where a neglected thorn happened to catch the garment, and interrupt for a moment the progress of his majesty. This custom is easily recognised in that beautiful prediction :— ' The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low ; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain ; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'† We shall be able, perhaps, to form a more clear and precise idea, from the account which Diodorus gives of the marches of Semiramis, the celebrated queen of Babylon, into Media and Persia.‡ In her march to Ecbatane, says the historian, she came to the Zarcean mountain, which, extending many furlongs, could not be passed without taking a great compass. Being therefore desirous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be digged down, and the hollows to be filled up ; and at a great ex-

* Forbes' Orien. Mem. vol. ii. p. 449. Maurice's Modern Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 417. Bruce's Trav. vol. iv. p. 66, 4to edition.

† Isa. xl. 3-5.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 13. p. 127.

pense she made a shorter and more expeditious road; which to this day is called from her, the road of Semiramis. Afterwards she went into Persia, and all the other countries of Asia subject to her dominion; and wherever she went, she ordered the mountains and the precipices to be levelled, raised causeways in the plain country, and at a great expense made the ways passable. Whatever may be in this story, the following statement is entitled to the fullest credit:—'All eastern potentates have their precursors and a number of pioneers to clear the road, by removing obstacles and filling up the ravines and the hollow ways in their route. In the days of Mogul splendour, the emperor caused the hills and mountains to be levelled, and the valleys to be filled up for his convenience. This beautifully illustrates the figurative language employed to describe the approach of the Prince of peace, when every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.'*

[Another highly figurative passage of the same prophet, relating to the same gospel times, will receive illustration from this necessary practice of preparing a highway for the safe and honourable progress of a mighty potentate. 'Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for

* Forbes' Orient. Mem. vol. i. p. 213. [The roads at certain seasons of the year, are so completely destroyed, says this writer, by the heavy rains and floods, that I found it impossible to travel without sending precursors to see that the hillocks of sand and mud were levelled, and the chasms and ravines filled up, before a wheeled carriage could pass. This service, by the custom of the country, is performed gratuitously for governors and persons in office; and at this period persons of every description, whether in a palanquin or on horseback, must have the highways mended before they undertake a journey, as, during the rainy season, they are impassable, and frequently invisible. On the harbinger arriving at a village with an intimation, that a man of consequence is on his way thither, a proclamation is issued to repair the road as far as the next village, and so on.—*Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.*]—*Editor.*

the people.'* In any part where the land is marshy, it is necessary to make highways, or *causeways*, previous to travelling. It is equally desirable to have marks for the direction of travellers through the deserts. For this purpose, heaps of stones have been piled up in remote places; which is probably what is meant by 'gather out the stones.' Thus Irwin, passing through the deserts on the eastern side of the Nile, tells us, 'That after leaving a certain valley, their road lay over level ground. As it would be next to an impossibility to find the way over those stony flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of Arabs have heaped up stones at unequal distances for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from them in this respect.' Moreover, it was customary, as Irwin takes notice, to light fires on the mountains to give notice of the approach of the caravans. These signals, or 'standards,' are of use on various accounts; more particularly, that the caravans may be met with assistance.†

[Besides this more laborious and expensive preparation of the roads, persons of rank and distinction had always couriers running before them, or along side their chariot, whose office was both to be precursors, announcing by their presence the approach of the grandee, and also to chaunt, as they moved rapidly along, some moral strains for the instruction, or else to shout extempore songs in honour of, their master. 'It is astonishing,' says Mr Malcolm, 'how long these men, accustomed to the business from childhood, can endure. The great one never slackens his pace on their account, and they keep up during the whole drive.' This office Elijah performed to Ahab, immediately after his memorable triumph over the priests of Baal. The attitude is apt, at first sight, to strike the reader as unbecoming the dignified character of the prophet; and, indeed, according to all our ideas of propriety, he would have

* Isaiah lxii. 10.

† Harmer, vol. ii. p. 283.

better consulted his reputation, and acted more suitably to the vantage-ground on which, as the prophet of the true and living God, the decision of that day had placed him, by studiously avoiding to offer any homage to the king, that wore the appearance of servile adulation. But to take his place among the humble attendants of the monarch, and to volunteer the service of a running footman seems a degradation, to which it is not easy to imagine any adequate motive, that could justify his stooping. According to the oriental style of manners, however, no such meanness or impropriety was involved in the incident of Elijah running before the chariot of Ahab; for these great men are always preceded by couriers of a rank and number proportioned to the dignity of the man whom they intend to honour. Nadir Shah, as Hanway tells us, when he removed his camp, was preceded by about 900 running footmen; and another Persian monarch, in a progress he made through his dominions, was heralded on his approach to any town or village by the attendance of the principal inhabitants, who ran before him, proclaiming in loud and enthusiastic strains, the virtues and princely qualities of the monarch, his victories over his enemies, and the most important deeds he had done for the benefit of his country. Such being the established custom, then, Elijah, in running before the chariot of Ahab, was doing an act of civil homage to his sovereign, which the most respectable of his contemporaries deemed it no derogation, but a personal honour, to render; and, while it is probable that, in so vast a crowd as that which had assembled on Carmel that day, numbers of the chief men of the place were running along with the prophet out of zeal to do honour to their king, Elijah alone might be noticed from his eminent character, and from his availing himself of the opportunity the situation afforded, to exalt in his extemporaneous songs, the glorious perfections of God, and His claims to supremacy over all other gods.

[Oriental princes, living in profound seclusion, seldom walk or travel to any great distance from their palace; but, on such rare occasions as they do go abroad, they are usually preceded by a number of officers, whose duty it is to sprinkle water on the dust, and provide for the monarch the enjoyment of refreshing coolness—one of the greatest comforts which natives of the East long for. This honour is exclusively reserved for princes, or persons who have a right to expect a princely reception; and hence, Pococke, who, when at Cairo, was treated with the highest marks of attention as an inmate of the Pacha's family, informs us, that a person went before him with a watering pan to allay the dust on the road. There can be little doubt of the great antiquity of this practice; and, accordingly, the knowledge of it serves to explain a remarkable incident in the history of David, who, during his flight on the outbreak of the unhappy rebellion of Absalom, was assailed by Shimei with dust and small stones.* As a monarch, David had been accustomed in his better days to enjoy the public honour of a servant preceding him to allay the dust; but now, in his fall, not only was this gratification wanting, but, as if to aggravate his distress by adding insult to rebellion, this disloyal subject raised clouds of dust in the path of his unfortunate sovereign.]

A spear carried in the hand, is another mark of honour in some countries. We can trace this custom as high as the days of Saul, the first king of Israel:—He 'abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah, having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him.'† [Morier found a Persian governor reclining, after the fatigues of a long journey, under a shed, sound asleep on the bare earth, with a spear stuck up at his bolster head,—which is still, as in the time of Saul, the usual token of the presence of a man of power and quality. Thus 'Saul lay sleeping within

* 2 Sam. xvi. 5. † 1 Samuel xxii. 6.

the trench, and his spear stuck in the ground at his bolster, while Abner and his people lay around him.'* At another time we read of Saul 'abiding under a tree in Ramah, having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him.'† The picture of this warlike group, with their brave but unhappy prince in the centre, bears an exact resemblance to the attitude in which the bands of marauding Arabs are frequently seen in the present day. Thus Pococke, describing a visit he paid to the lieutenant of an eastern governor, found him reclining on a carpet and cushions, which were laid on an *eminence*, with the spear stuck up beside him. If, in the sacred narrative, we read for 'under a tree in Ramah,' under a grove in *a high place*, and instead of 'having his spear in his hand,' we read, having his spear *at* his hand, or near him, as the words in both cases may be rendered, the description of these Israelitish warriors, 'taking their rest, with their martial cloaks around them,' will harmonize with what has been the immemorial practice of soldiers in the guerilla wars of the East.]

The orientals looked upon a seat by a pillar or column as a particular mark of respect. In the Iliad, Homer places Ulysses on a lofty throne, by a pillar; and in the Odyssey, he more than once alludes to the same custom.‡ The kings of Israel were, for the same reason, placed at their coronation, or on days of public festivity, by a pillar in the house of the Lord. Joash, the king of Judah, stood by a pillar when he was admitted to the throne of his ancestors; § and Josiah, one of his successors, when he made a covenant before the Lord.‖

The subjects of oriental princes approach them with expressions of reverence, homage, and submission, which amount nearly to religious adoration; and which even

* 1 Samuel xxvi. 7. † 1 Samuel xxii. 6.
‡ Lib. vi. l. 307; lib. xxiii. l. 93; and lib. viii. l. 66.
§ 2 Kings xi. 14. ‖ Ib. xxiii. 3.

when not carried so far, are nearly as degrading and absurd. Forgetting the erect dignity of the human character in their intercourse with fellow-mortals, and what every man owes to himself, in the presence of the great, they are not satisfied with yielding them that respect to which they are fairly entitled, but humble themselves to the very dust before their horses' feet, and kiss the earth in token of their obedience.* When Joseph's brethren were introduced to him, they bowed down themselves before him, with their faces to the earth. The kings of Persia, in the height of their power, never admitted any person into their presence without exacting this act of *adoration*,—the name which it uniformly received. The expressions, therefore, of the prophet Isaiah, 'They shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth; they shall lick the very dust,' 'are poetical images taken from the manners of the country, to denote great respect and reverence: and such splendid figures, which frequently occur in the prophetical writings, were intended only as general amplifications of the subject, not as predictions to be understood and fulfilled precisely according to the letter.' †

'When the king' of Persia 'is seated in public, his sons, ministers, and courtiers, stand erect, with their hands crossed, and in the exact place of their rank. They watch the looks of the sovereign; and a glance is a mandate. If he speak to them, you hear a voice reply, and see their lips move, but not a motion nor gesture betrays that there is animation in any other part of their frame.'‡ When he places himself at the windows of his palace, his domestics take their station in the court before it, hard by the fountain which plays in the middle, to watch the looks of their lord.§ A

* Morier's Trav. vol. i. p. 280. † Lowth on Isa. vol. ii. p. 307.
‡ Orme's Hist. of Military Transactions, vol. iv. p. 426. Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. ii. p. 554.
§ Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii. p. 522.

principal part of the regal state in Persia consists in the number of the men who stand before the monarch; and we learn from the address of the queen of Sheba to Solomon that he was not indifferent to this part of eastern splendour.* It is reckoned an act of great humility in the king of Persia, or even in a person of high rank, to walk on foot, this being a part of the service exacted from servants. When a prince or great man goes abroad, he is mounted on a horse, and always attended by a multitude of servants on foot, one bearing his pipe, another his shoes, another his cloak, a fourth his saddle-cloth, and so on, the number increasing with the dignity of the master. Persons of rank and opulence in those countries, are now distinguished from their inferiors, by riding on horseback when they go abroad; while those of meaner station, and Christians of every rank (the consuls of Christian powers excepted), are obliged to content themselves with the ass or the mule.† A Turkish grandee, proud of his exclusive privilege, moves on horseback with a very slow and stately pace.‡ To the honour of riding upon horses, and the stately manner in which the oriental nobles proceed through the streets, with a number of servants walking before them, the wise man seems to allude, in his account of the disorders which occasionally prevail in society:—'I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth.'§

[When a prince, or a great man, is on a journey, it is reckoned a piece of indispensable etiquette for the people, whom he is about to honour with a visit, to meet him on the road, and escort him with a suitable equipage to the place of his destination. The distance

* 1 Kings x. 8. The phrase, 'the attendance of his ministers,' is more literally and properly rendered in the margin, 'the standing of his ministers.' Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 130.

† Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 322.

‡ Maillet, Lett. i. p. 7, 8. Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 17.

§ Eccl. x. 7.

which they travel on those occasions is always greater or less according to the rank or personal dignity of the expected visitor, and the successive detachments of attendants who are sent forward to hail his arrival, increase in numbers and importance as he approaches the termination of his progress, till the crowning honour is at length given in the appearance of the chief magistrate of the place, or the host who is to receive and entertain him, as the case may be. For example, 'When the English ambassador to Persia drew near Ispahan, he was met by the confidential officer of the governor, by a learned man, and by several other men of respectability belonging to that city. These deputations are called "openers of the way," and are one of the principal modes among the Persians of doing honour to their guests. The more distinguished the persons sent, and the greater distance to which they go, so much more considerable is the honour. On the day of the entry of the embassy into Ispahan, it was first met by the youngest son of the second Vizier of Persia, a boy of about thirteen years of age, who received the ambassador with all the ease of an old courtier, making the usual compliments of, "You are welcome; you have done us honour; are your spirits good? How is your health? You have no ailing?" Men of consequence in the city at different intervals presented themselves; and then two of the brothers of the Vizier paid their respects to the ambassador. At length the governor in person came out a mile from the city to meet him.' This succession of visitors, whose rank and importance rose with every new arrival, will recal to the reader's mind, 'the princes greater and more honourable,' whom Balak despatched to flatter the vanity and ambition of Balaam, as well as another incident in the gospel history, when, from worthier motives, and under feelings of the profoundest respect, the centurion, whose servant was sick, sent first a deputation of the elders of the Jews, and

afterwards a number of his most dignified friends to solicit the benevolent offices of Jesus.*]

The compliments which they addressed to their princes, and the manner in which they spoke of them, were not less hyperbolical. The address of the wise woman of Tekoah to David, furnishes a memorable example of the extravagant adulation in which they indulged, and which seems to have been received with entire satisfaction by one of the wisest and holiest of men:—'As an angel of God, so is my lord the king, to discern good and bad;' and again, 'My lord is wise according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth.' † [This extravagant compliment was quite in the hyperbolical style of eastern servility, and similar expressions are constantly dropping from the lips of orientals at the present day. 'When talking to a European,' says Mr Ward, 'if they desire to obtain something from him, the Hindoos will say, Saheb can do every thing. No one can prevent the execution of Saheb's commands. Saheb is God.' 'Sometimes,' says Mr Roberts, 'they do not address you in a direct way, but speak as to a third person, loud enough for you to hear. Ah! what wisdom he has; there is nothing concealed from him. Yes, yes, all things are known to him. Then turning to you, they look humbly in your face, and say, My lord, there are only two who can do any thing for me. God is the first, but *you* are the second.'] Equally hyperbolical was the reply of a Persian grandee to Chardin, who objected to the price which the king had set upon a pretty rich trinket:—'Know that the kings of Persia have a general and full knowledge of matters, as sure as it is extensive; and that equally in the greatest and in the smallest things, there is nothing more just and sure than what they pronounce.'‡ This incident admirably shows the strong prepossession of these Asiatics in favour of their kings, or rather of

* Luke vii. 2. † 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20. ‡ Harmer's Ob. vol. iii. p. 517.

their own slavery; and gives some plausibility to the remark of Mr Harmer, that there may be more of real persuasion in such addresses than we are ready to apprehend. In the estimation of the Persian courtier, the knowledge of his prince was like that of an angel of God. If the ancient Egyptians supposed their princes were possessed of equal knowledge and sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to his brother Joseph was a very high one, and at the same time, couched in the most artful terms :—'Thou art even as Pharaoh;' knowing, and wise, and equitable as he. But it cannot be inferred, with any degree of certainty, from these customs, that either the Persian grandee, or the brother of Joseph, really believed such compliments were due. The former, most probably, thought it incumbent upon him to support the dignity of his master, especially in the presence of many of his nobles, or expressed himself in such extravagant terms, merely in compliance with the etiquette of the court; and as for Judah, it was his desire to soothe with good words and fair speeches the second ruler in Egypt, whose resentment he knew it was death to incur; and no compliment could be supposed more acceptable to an Egyptian grandee than the one which he paid to his unknown brother. The same remark applies, with little variation, to the woman of Tekoah; her design was to soothe the mind of her sovereign, to mitigate, and, if possible, to extinguish his just resentment of the atrocious murder which Absalom had committed, and procure the restoration of the fratricide to his country, and the presence of his father.

It was a common practice in the East, and one which, on certain great and joyful occasions, has been practised in other countries, to strew flowers and branches of trees in the way of conquerors and renowned princes. Herodotus states, that people went before Xerxes passing over the Hellespont, and burnt

all manner of perfumes on the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtles.* So did those Jews who believed Christ to be the promised Messiah, and the king of Israel; they cut down branches of the trees, and strewed them in the way. Sometimes the whole road which leads to the capital of an eastern monarch, is covered, for several miles, with rich silks over which he rides into the city. [Cato was welcomed with this high tribute on his return from a successful expedition. The populace followed him wherever he went, spreading their garments under his feet,—a testimony of public respect, adds the historian, which the Romans at that time showed to very few of their commanders. In the East, however, especially in Persia, it was, and still continues to be the customary mode of doing honour to their king on great and especial occasions. A recent traveller, describing a sumptuous feast to which the reigning shah was invited by one of his nobles of high rank, says that such was the magnificent scale on which the festivities were conducted, that, besides the garments which loyal persons in the crowd of spectators spread here and there, out of devotion to the sovereign, the honoured landlord had caused, at his own expense, the several streets that led from the palace to his house to be carpeted with cloth. Sir John Malcolm gives a still more splendid instance in the case of Shah Abbas II. who, wishing to do honour to an Usbec prince, travelled seven miles from his palace to meet him, having previously caused the road for that great distance to be covered with superb silk cloths, on which the two sovereigns rode.†] Agreeably to this custom, the multitudes spread their garments in the way when the Saviour rode in triumph into Jerusalem.‡ And also at a much earlier period, on the elevation of Jehu to the royal dignity, 'the

* Lib. vii. cap. 54.
† Malcolm's History of Persia. vol. i. p. 580.
‡ Matt. xxi. 8.

people hasted and took every man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the stairs.'*

The interest which the subjects of the Mogul felt, or rather pretended to feel, in his personal prosperity, was long manifested by a very curious ceremony. On his birth-day, in obedience to an ancient custom, he is weighed in a balance, in the presence of his principal nobility. The ceremony is performed in a spacious apartment of his palace, into which none are admitted but by special permission. The scales in which the emperor was weighed when Sir Thomas Roe resided at his court, were plaited with gold; and the beam on which they hung, by great chains, was made of the same precious metal. The emperor, sitting in one of these scales, was weighed first against silver coin, which was immediately afterwards distributed among the poor; then he was weighed against gold; after that against jewels. By his weight (of which his physicians keep an exact yearly account), they presume to give an opinion relative to the present healthful state of his body; of which, whatever be their real sentiments, they always speak in flattering terms. This ceremony of weighing the emperor of Hindostan, is performed twice every year, in the solar and the lunar anniversary of his birth'; and, according as he is lighter or heavier than before, the physician appointed to attend him judges him to be in a prosperous or declining state.† Hence the doom of Belshazzar, written upon the wall, admits of a literal interpretation; it alludes to a custom which the Hindoos, when they emigrated from Persia, the land of their fathers, carried with them, and transmitted through a long succession of ages, down to modern times.

The orientals, as a proof of the profoundest reverence, kissed the fringe of the robe which their sove-

* 2 Kings ix. 13.

† Maurice's Hist. vol. iii. p. 228. Indian Antiq. vol. vi. p. 60. Forbes' Orient. Mem. vol. iii. p. 310. Harmer's Observ. vol. ii. p. 351.

reign wore. [A recent traveller, who accompanied an English consul on a visit to the governor of Tripoli, informs us, that the two interpreters of the consul kissed their masters' garment, and put it to their foreheads. The author of the history of Caliph Vathek describes a venerable priest as coming to kiss the fringe of his majesty's robe, and implore him to enter his humble habitation. 'As we drew nigh,' says Dr Clarke, 'four of the principal inhabitants, accompanied by about fifty soldiers, came to meet the ambassador at the gate of the town, and having kissed the hem of his robes, again mounted their horses and conducted him to the house prepared for his reception.' Nay, the orientals are accustomed to give the same tokens of profound and respectful submission, not only to the dress worn by their princes, but to the robes of honour with which royalty may present themselves. A traveller, describing a scene of which he was witness in the Persian court when the shah was distributing rewards to a person who had distinguished himself by some public service, says, one of the king's servants came and brought him a piece of gold brocade, accompanying the gift with these words, 'Receive the robe of honour with which the shah presents you.' He took the garment with great reverence, kissed it three times, pressing it each time to his eyes and breast. After which he was summoned into the king's presence, and when he approached, he fell down and kissed the king's feet. This is also a customary mark of respect to a superior of high rank, although the act of kissing either the knees or the feet generally implies in it a degree of joy and affection, as well as of reverence. The following incident related by a modern traveller, illustrates this :—'During my travels,' says he, 'I was in the habit of having a lancet always about me, and when I took this out of my pocket-book, put it into the hands of the Persian, and told it was for himself, he threw himself on the ground, kissed my knees and my feet, and wept with a joy that stifled his expres-

sion of thanks.'* Thus, the woman, who poured the alabaster box of ointment on the person of our Lord, showed her lively affection as well as her reverence for his character, by 'kissing his feet;' and thus, too, Mary Magdalene, at the first discovery of her risen Saviour, evinced the tumult of mingled feelings that struggled in her breast, by 'catching hold of him by the feet.'†] The orientals carried their submission so far as to kiss the letters in which his orders were communicated; and they treated with almost equal respect the mandates of his chief ministers.‡ The editor of the Ruins of Balbec observed, that the Arab governor of that city respectfully applied the firman or letter, containing the commands of the grand signior, to his forehead, when he and his fellow-travellers first waited upon him, and then applied it to his lips.§ To this custom Mr Harmer thinks Pharaoh probably refers in these words to Joseph :—'Thou shalt be over my house; and according to thy word shall my people be ruled (or *kiss*, as it is in the original); only on the throne will I be greater than thou.'‖

The Arabs of Mount Carmel, when they present any petition to their chief, offer it with their right hand, after having first kissed the paper.¶ To this custom the words of Solomon seem to allude :—'Every man shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer.'** The Hebrew manner of expression is short and abrupt : Every lip shall kiss, one maketh to return a right answer; that is, every one shall be ready to present the state of his case, kissing it, as he delivers it to the judge, on whose integrity and abilities he can rely.

When Soliman ascended the throne, 'the letter which was to be presented to the new monarch, was delivered to the general of the slaves, contained in a

* Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 464.
† Matt. xxviii. 9.
‡ P. 4.
§ Pococke's Travels, vol. i. pp. 113, 182.
‖ Gen. xli. 40.
¶ D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 155.
** Prov. xxiv. 26.

purse of cloth of gold, drawn together with strings of twisted gold and silk, with tassels of the same. The general threw himself at his majesty's feet, bowing to the very ground; then rising upon his knees, he drew out of the bosom of his garment, the bag containing the letter which the assembly had sent to the new monarch. Presently he opened the bag, took out the letter, kissed it, laid it to his forehead, presented it to his majesty, and then rose up.'* [Buckingham tells us, that after leaving the village of Sholee, he and his friends came in about two hours to the village of Amada. There they alighted to wait on the Sheich, who was a man of some consequence, and commanded many of the villages in the neighbourhood. On our visit to the Sheich, the Sultan's firman was put into his hands, when the chief, as soon as he recognised the royal signet, rose from his seat, placed the royal document on his head, and then kissing it, raised it again to his forehead.†

[In like manner, Dandini says, that, on his visiting the patriarch of Lebanon, he found him sitting upon his bed, with his patriarchal turban in his hand; and that on presenting him his Holiness' brief, he kissed it, and placed it afterwards on his head, which is a mark of respect in that country.] To such a custom Job evidently refers in these words:—'Oh, that mine adversary had written a book; surely I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me,'‡ or, on my head. [This refers to a variation of the same token of respect, which consists in not only raising a letter to the forehead, but in fastening it in that distinguished position,—and is reserved only for those occasions when an extraordinary degree of reverence is meant to be expressed. Strange as such a practice appears, tried by the standard of European manners, it obtains almost universally throughout the eastern world; and many a

* Chardin's Coron. of Soliman, p. 44.

† Travels in Mesopotamia, vol. i. ‡ Job xxxi. 35, 36.

one who has received a letter of joyful intelligence from a valued friend, or of gracious attention from a dignified superior, may be found at home, with the interesting document bound to the seat of memory and intelligence. Thus, Sir Thomas Roe says, that when the Mogul sends a letter to one of his subordinate governors, the moment the subaltern sees the paper, he alights from his horse, falls down to the earth, takes it from the messenger, and laying it on his head, binds it fast; and, in like manner, in an account given of the reception of ambassadors at the court of Pekin, the historian says, that the emperor's letter, which was delivered to the ambassadors kneeling, was, in consequence of its being written both in the Chinese and Tartar tongues, handed over to an interpreter, *upon whose shoulder it was bound*, and who, in that state, went along with it before the ambassadors, through the middle gate of the court, which was set wide open to do honour to the imperial document.]

If the king of Persia beckon to any of his train, it is the etiquette to run forward, and, if on horseback, to advance at a full trot. This custom seems to be referred to in many passages of Scripture; as in that prayer of the spouse:—'Draw me, we will run after thee;' and in the following prediction:—'Behold thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not; and nations that knew not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the holy One of Israel, for he hath glorified thee.' In the same manner the Jews testified their high respect for the Saviour:—'And straightway all the people, when they beheld him, were greatly amazed, and running to him saluted him.' *

Every person that approaches the royal presence is obliged to take off his shoes, because they consider as sacred the ground on which the king sits, whom they dignify with the title of the Shadow of God. Allusive

* Song i. 4. Isaiah lv. 5. Mark ix. 15. Morier's Travels, vol. i. pp. 386, 387.

to this custom, perhaps, is the command given to Moses, and also to Joshua :—'Loose thy shoe from off thy foot ; for the place whereon thou standest is holy. And Joshua did so.'* And so strictly was this custom observed, that the Persians look upon the omission of it as the greatest indignity that can be offered to them.†

An Indian prince goes abroad in his palanquin, a kind of bed, in which he reclines or sits in state when he pays visits of ceremony, or reposes during a journey, as if he were in his own bed. These words in the Song of Solomon exactly describe the procession of an Indian prince in his palanquin, surrounded by his guards :—'Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke. . . . Behold his bed, which is Solomon's : threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel.'‡

His hakery, or chariot, has a canopy or dome, covered with cloth or velvet, richly embroidered and fringed, supported by pillars, ornamented with silver and gold, often inlaid with sandal-wood and ivory ; as is the bottom, or framework, raised above the wheels. With this, says Forbes, seems to correspond the chariot which king Solomon made himself of the wood of Lebanon.§ ['Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant? Behold, his bed which is Solomon's, threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel. They all hold swords, being expert in war : every man hath his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night. King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple ; the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem. Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion,

* Exod. iii. 5. Josh. v. 15. † Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 241.
‡ Song iii. 6, 7. § Forbes's Orient. Mem. vol. iii. p. 193.

and behold king Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart.'* The word *aperion* in the original, which is here translated 'chariot,' does not occur elsewhere; and, as the whole description manifestly relates to a portable litter, there can be little doubt that the sacred writer is describing not a wheeled vehicle, but a palanquin, similar to those in which great personages are still carried about in the East. Couches of this description, especially such as belong to persons of royal dignity, are very magnificent. The wood work is richly chased with silver and jewels, and the canopy consists of silk, brocades, satin, and stuffs of the most elaborate manufacture. The accommodations within are every way worthy of the outward appearance; and, while they are made of sufficient length to admit of the royal owner reclining at ease, they are also furnished with curtains which, when drawn closely, effectually exclude the sun's rays; altogether, they are most luxurious vehicles, and usually carried by a great number of attendants and slaves, who, being trained to the service, transport their master, with an ease and delicacy to which the inhabitants of Britain, even with all their boasted improvements, are strangers.†]

Herodotus relates, that the kings of Persia had horses peculiar to themselves, that were brought from Armenia, and were remarkable for their beauty.‡ If the same law prevailed in Persia as did in Judea, no man might ride on the king's horse, any more than sit on his throne, or hold his sceptre. This clearly discovers the extent of Haman's ambition, when he proposed to bring 'the royal apparel which the king used to wear, and the horse that the king rode upon, and the crown which is set upon his head.' The crown royal was not

* Song iii. 6-15.
† See Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. vii. p. 483.
‡ Eastern Arts and Antiquities, p. 94.

to be set on the head of the man, but on the head of the horse: this interpretation is allowed by Aben Ezra, by the Targum, and by the Syriac version. No mention is afterwards made of the crown as set upon the head of Mordecai, nor would Haman have dared to advise what, by the laws of Persia, could not be granted. But it was usual to put the crown royal on the head of a horse led in state; and this, we are assured, is a custom in Persia, as it is with the Ethiopians to this day: from them it passed into Italy; for the horses which the Romans yoked in their triumphal chariots were adorned with crowns.*

[The account given by a late writer of the treatment given to a person on his embracing Mohammedanism, so exactly tallies with the highest of all compliments paid to those whom eastern monarchs delight to honour, that we are tempted to insert it.—'Such a person is to get on horseback on a stately steed, with a rich saddle, and fine trappings; he is richly habited, and has a turban on his head; although nothing of all his ornaments is to be called his own. The horse, with him on his back, is led all round the city, which he is several hours in doing. He is attended with drums and other music, and twenty or thirty stewards. These march on each side of the horse, with naked swords in their hand, while a herald goes before proclaiming the name and merits of the rider.'†

[In conferring honours on their favourites, or those who by their public services have merited some extraordinary distinction, eastern monarchs do not depend upon their judgment, or allow themselves to be guided by the impulse of the moment. Although there is a certain scale of honorary rewards, which are well known to the country, yet, as if to show their great liberality, they leave the bestowment of these in each particular case to be adjudged by the suffrages of their courtiers;

* Dr Gill *in loc.*

† Pitts' account of the manners of the Mohammedans.

and the way observed on such occasions is, for the monarch, in presence of his whole court, to turn round to the nobleman who is nearest in rank to royalty, and to ask his opinion of the kind of honour which should be conferred, and, according to the response, the royal mandate is issued. Thus Lootf Ali Khan said to a courtier, whom he had good reason to suspect of being the murderer of his royal father, 'What does that man deserve who should behave ill to his sovereign and benefactor?' 'To be burned alive,' was the answer. 'Thou art the man,' said the shah; and immediately ordered him to be thrown into a fiery furnace. Shirley, the ambassador of queen Elizabeth to Persia, mentions another instance to the same purport: On a person being reported to the king as having performed some important public service, the monarch turned to Shirley, who happened to be nearest the royal person, and said, 'What shall be done to the man who has rendered this benefit to the country?' Shirley named a piece of money and a robe of honour, which were forthwith ordered.* It was in this way that Ahasuerus appealed to Haman, then the all-powerful vizier of the court of Persia; and that ambitious minister, flattering himself that no one was so much entitled to an extraordinary mark of the royal favour as he was himself, described those honours, which he was made the unconscious instrument of conferring on the object of his hatred, Mordecai.]

The eastern princesses were treated with a respect proportioned to the homage which was given to their lords. An Arabian princess, who made a visit to the wife of the great emir, when D'Arvieux resided in his camp, was mounted on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers; twelve women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand, while they sang the praises of their mistress in songs which expressed the joy and happiness of

* Jamieson's Eastern Manners.

being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those who marched first, and were at a greater distance from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter, which place, as being the post of honour, they resigned to others, when the princess had gone a few paces. In this order they marched to the tent, where they alighted. They then sang altogether, the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princess. This account illustrates a passage in the prophet Nahum, in which he describes the introduction of the queen of Nineveh, or that imperial city itself, under the figure of a queen to her conqueror :—'And Huzzab shall be led away captive ; she shall be brought up, and her maids shall lead her as with the voice of doves.'* Here the prophet describes her as led by her maids with the voice of doves, that is, with the voice of mourning ; their usual songs of joy, with which they were accustomed to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princess, being turned into lamentations.†

[A curious way of rewarding a courtier, or indeed any one who has rendered agreeable service to a prince or great man, obtains in the East, particularly in Persia, where it is very common, and that is, filling his mouth with sweatmeats, or with gold as much as it will contain. 'Go to the poet,' says the king, in an entertaining scene of Hajji Baba, 'go kiss him on the mouth, and when that is done, fill it with sugar-candy ;' upon which, the noble of nobles approached the poet, gave him a kiss, and then, from a plate of sugar-candy, which was handed to him, he took as many lumps as would quite fill his jaws, and inserted them with his fingers, with all due form. On another occasion, when the same bard delivered an impromptu in honour of the shah, he is represented as receiving the highest honour which can be conferred on a poet,—that of having his mouth

* Nahum ii. 7.

† Harmer's Ob. vol. ii. p. 417. D'Arvieux Voy. dans la Palest. p. 249.

filled with gold coins in the presence of the whole court. To this custom, which in either of these forms, or perhaps in both, seems to have prevailed also in the court of ancient Israel, allusion is made by David, when he says, 'Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things.' 'Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it.'*]

While the orientals had their emblems of honour, and tokens of regard, they had also peculiar customs expressive of contempt or dislike; of which the first I shall mention is cutting off the beard. Even to talk disrespectfully of a Persian's beard, is the greatest insult that can be offered to him, and an attempt to touch it would probably be followed by the instant death of the offender.† Cutting off the beard is reckoned so great a mark of infamy among the Arabs, that many of them would prefer death to such a dishonour. They set the highest value upon this appurtenance of the male; for when they would express their value for a thing, they say it is worth more than his beard; they even beg for the sake of it, 'By your beard, by the life of your beard, do.' This shows, according to the oriental mode of thinking, the magnitude of the affront which Hanun offered to the ambassadors of David, when he took them and shaved off the one half of their beards.‡ [Herodotus relates an amusing story of a young man, who, being desirous to obtain the head of

* Psalm ciii. 5; lxxxi. 10.

† Kinnier's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, p. 24.

‡ 2 Samuel x. 4. To shave the beard of an enemy is a mark of subjection. Motraye informs us, that the Ottoman princes have their beard shaved off, to show that they are dependent on the favour of the reigning emperor. Such disgrace is attached to the want of this appendage of manhood, that it is universally regarded as the badge of servitude, and, accordingly, the male servants of the seraglio have their beards shaven off. To let their beard grow is equivalent to their master giving them freedom. A beard, moreover, is reckoned so sacred in the East, that every hair which grows upon a Mussulman's chin is protected from molestation by a heavy fine. This punishment, says Mr Lane, has frequently been practised in modern times, but not so often as shaving the whole beard.—*Modern Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 32.—*Editor.*

his brother, which was exposed on a place of execution, addressed himself to the task of bribing the guards. Producing first one, then another, flask of the most delicious wine, the guards soon became drunk, and fell asleep ; when he took down, under favour of the night, the remains of his brother, and in derision shaved off the right cheeks of the guards.] It was still, in times comparatively modern, the greatest indignity that can be offered in Persia.* Shah Abbas, king of that country, enraged that the emperor of Hindostan had inadvertently addressed him by a title far inferior to that of the great Shah-in-Shah, or king of kings, ordered the beards of the ambassadors to be shaved off, and sent them home to their master.† This ignominious treatment discovers also the propriety and force of the type of hair in the prophecies of Ezekiel, where the inhabitants of Jerusalem are compared to the hair of his head and beard, to intimate that they had been as dear to God as the beard was to the Jews ; yet for their wickedness they should be cut off and destroyed.

[Plucking off the beard was an indignity still more gross and intolerable, for it was adding cruelty to insult. The following account of it is given in an entertaining work descriptive of Persian manners :—'The Shah, summoning his officers, exclaimed, Tear that wretch's turban from his head, and his cloak from his back, and pluck the beard from his chin. Never was order more completely executed. Nadar's beard was torn from his chin, with as much ease by the ferashes as if they had been plucking a fowl, and the skin came off by inches.'‡ Such was the cruel insult offered to the meek Saviour of men, when 'he gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair.§

[The orientals are excessively punctilious in observ-

* Niebuhr's Travels, p. 275.
† Maurice's History of Hindostan, vol. iv. p. 476.
‡ Hajji Baba. § Isaiah l. vi.

ing the established forms of civility and respect in their epistolary correspondence. The address at the commencement of their letters is scrupulously conformed to the rank of the person they are writing to ; and in all circumstances, but particularly when they have any favour to solicit, their expressions and epithets are in the most fulsome and extravagant style of compliment. ‘ To you, who are respected by kings—To the feet of his excellency, my father, looking to the place where his honour is : I, his son, write.’ A father, writing to his son, says, ‘ Head of my blessings—chief of life—precious pearl.’* These are specimens of the eulogistic style in which orientals frequently begin their letters. Their ordinary mode, however, is, after mentioning their correspondent’s name, to introduce the subject with the salaam, or peace be unto you : and of this form of address, we have an example in the letter sent to Darius, wherein was written thus,—‘ Unto Darius the king, all peace.’† Many, even of the men of rank, in the East, being unable to write, employ an amanuensis, whose performance, done at their dictation, they subscribe with a seal, on which their own name is engraven. This observation is confirmed by various travellers ; thus Hanway informs us, that many of the Persians in high office cannot write ; but in their rings they wear agates, which serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraved their name, and some verse of the koran.‡ Dr Shaw says, that, as few or none of the Arab sheichs, or Turkish governors, or Eastern princes, and Bashas, know how to write their own name, all their letters and decrees are stamped with their proper rings or seals, which are usually of silver or cornelion, with their respective names engraved upon them on one side, and a verse of the koran on the other.§ This custom of having a ring for the subscription of one’s signature, is of great antiquity, and that a moral or religious sen-

* Roberts, p. 256.
† Ezra v. 7.
‡ Trav. vol. i. p. 317.
§ Trav. p. 247.

tence was also engraven along with it, is evident from the allusion of Baal, in that passage where he says,—'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal (on one side), The Lord knoweth them that are his: (on the other side), Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.']

A letter has its Hebrew name from the circumstance of its being rolled or folded together. The modern Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch; and, instead of sealing them, paste up their ends.* The Persians make up their letters in a roll about six inches long: a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink,† which is quite suitable for the purpose, being thick, somewhat resembling our printer's ink. [When letters are sent to persons of distinction, they commonly write on very large paper, with a broad margin; and after being elegantly rolled up, are put in bags, or purses of silk, satin, or silk interwoven with gold or silver lace. These, again, are fastened by a silk ribbon, or silver lace, which, at the knot, is covered over with wax, and stamped with a seal. The following description is given by Dr Brown, of a letter which he saw, addressed from a governor-general of India to the king of Persia, in Persic, on beautifully glazed white paper, fifty inches long, and twenty inches broad. The written part, however, was only two feet long, and one foot broad; the rest being filled with a beautiful ornamental painting at the head of the letter, and very elegantly painted border round the whole sheet. The bag in which it was sent was cloth composed of gold

* Niebuhr. [It appears from Josephus, that the Jews also used to roll up their letters.—*Antiquities* xv. 6.]—*Editor.*

† Hanway. [Fraser's description is perhaps more easily understood. A Persian letter, says he, is folded up like a lady's thread paper with us, and fastened in the middle by gum, or a slip of adhesive paper, which is moistened with the tongue, and then stamped with the seal of the writer. Thus letters are frequently opened and reclosed without detection.—*Hajji Baba.*]—*Editor.*

threads and crimson silk. It was tied at the neck with a gold lace, which, after being knotted, passed through an immense red seal four inches in diameter, and about an inch thick, of red wax; which seal was entirely covered with Persic characters, which were supposed to be the titles of the Persian king. In order to preserve the seal and lace entire, the bag was opened at bottom, to extract the letter; but the natural way of opening it would be, either by melting the wax, or cutting the lace between the wax and the bag.*] To equals, they are also enclosed; but to inferiors, or those who are held in contempt, they are sent open or unenclosed.† To send an open letter was considered a mark of great disrespect. This explains the reason of Nehemiah's observation:—'Then sent Sanballat his servant unto me . . . . with an open letter in his hand.'‡ In refusing him the mark of respect usually paid to persons of his station, and treating him contemptuously, by sending the letter without the customary appendages, when presented to persons of respectability, Sanballat offered him a deliberate insult. Had this open letter come from Geshem, who was an Arab, it might have passed unnoticed; but as it came from Sanballat, the governor had reason to expect the ceremony of enclosing it in a bag, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and at that time governor of Judea.

One of the most significant expressions of strong disapprobation was the shaking of the lap. When the Jews opposed the apostle Paul and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them,—'Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean.'§ This action is still a common mark of reprobation in Turkey.‖

The last mark of disrespect, which is by no means confined to the East, is to spit in the face of another;

* Brown's Jewish Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 96.

† Norden's Trav. vol. ii. pp. 8, 71, 109. Lady M. W. Montague's Let. vol. i. p. 136. D'Arvieux. Voy. dans. la Palest. p. 58.

‡ Nehemiah vi. 5. § Acts xviii. 6: also Nehemiah v. 13.

‖ Morier's Travels, volume i. p. 123.

but in that quarter of the world the action carries with it a degree of ignominy, and is resented with an indignation, unknown in Europe. Chardin observes, that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's action, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation. [Mr Monro, having incurred the displeasure of some Arab boys, on account of his European dress, and especially his hat, says,—'Among other modes of insult to which they resorted, they kept continually spitting at me. This last manner of maligning is still common in the East, and I once witnessed it curiously applied. When travelling in the fayoum, one of the dromedaries did something which displeased the Bedouin who had care of them, and, instead of beating the offender, he *spit in her face.*'* Niebuhr assures us, that, notwithstanding the Arabs pique themselves on their coolness, yet if one man should happen to spit beside another, the latter will not fail to avenge himself of the imaginary insult. 'In a caravan,' he continues, 'I once saw an Arab highly offended with a man who, in spitting, had accidently bespattered his beard with some small part of the spittle. It was with difficulty that he could be appeased by him, who, he imagined, had offended him, even although he humbly asked pardon, and kissed his beard in token of submission.'† The fact is, says Dr Clarke, that the malediction of the Orientals is frequently expressed in no other way than by spitting either in the face, or on the ground; and it was considered so deep a dishonour, that a father's spitting in his daughter's face was sufficient to drive her from society for seven days.‡] It is, therefore, prescribed by the law of Moses, as a mark of great disgrace to be fixed on the man who failed in his duty to the house of his brother.§ To such contemptuous treatment, it will

* Summer Rambles in Syria, vol. i. p. 238.
† Travels in Arabia, p. 197. ‡ Numbers xii. 14.
§ Deut. xxv. 9. Harmer's Observ. vol. iv. pp. 439, 440.

be recollected, our blessed Redeemer submitted in the hall of the high priest, for the sake of his people. The practice has descended to modern times: for in the year 1744, when a rebel prisoner was brought before Nadir Shah's general, the soldiers were ordered to spit in his face; which proves that the savage conduct of the Jews corresponded with a custom which had been long established over all the East. [Various other marks of disgrace, and modes of expressing contempt and mockery are prevalent in the East. Besides clapping the hands, which has been already noticed, throwing dust and small stones with the hand at a person who was an object of resentment, are means of offence sometimes resorted to. In the histories both of David and of Paul, examples of this occur;* and Captain Light, in his travels, relates an incident which shows the action in both these instances to have been the result of mingled feelings of indignation and hatred. 'The inhabitants of Galabsee, a small place on the banks of the Nile, seemed more jealous of my appearance among them than any I had seen. I was surrounded by them, and "A present! a present!" echoed from all quarters before they would allow me to look at their temple. One, more violent than the rest, threw dust in the air, *the signal both of rage and defiance*, ran for his shield, and came towards me, striking the shield with the head of his javelin to intimidate me.'† To wag the head, to push out the tongue, and to hiss,—resources very common with the lowest minds amongst ourselves, are familiar also with the orientals. To these the prophet Isaiah alludes, 'against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue?'‡ and to these indignities the blessed Saviour unrepiningly submitted.

[Besides these, their vocabulary of slander is so copious, that they are never at a loss for weapons of offence. Nowhere, indeed, are nicknames and epithets

* 2 Samuel xvi. 6; Acts xxii. 23.
† Light's Travels into Egypt, p. 64. ‡ Isaiah lvii. 4.

of gross abuse applied more frequently, and with such inexhaustible profusion, as among people of the East to the objects of their dislike or hatred. Points of bodily defect or personal deformity, are, as is always the case in a low or uncultivated society, sure to be laid hold of and caricatured, as the likeliest method of inflicting pain, and hence the malignant pleasure, the profane mirth of the young infidels of Bethel, when they perseveringly insulted the prophet of the Lord on the subject of his baldness. Besides, peculiarities of personal appearance are frequently noticed in common life, as the only way of designating people. Their size or their stoutness, their fair or black complexion, the length of their hands or feet, the shape of their legs, all furnish epithets by which persons are familiarly known in their own circle or district. 'I knew a white man,' says Mr Roberts, 'who, having a squeaking disagreeable voice, never got any other name than "the ass;" another, who talked through his nose, "the snuffler;" a third, who had a large head, "the ox-headed;" and a fourth, whose ears were large, went by the name of "the umbrella-eared." This sufficiently explains a minute but still curious circumstance mentioned by the sacred historian, when, in enumerating the apostles, he styles our Lord's brother, James the less. To abuse one's mother is another favourite species of indignity, which, strange to say, even fathers, when irritated against their children, do not scruple to have recourse; and hence the jealous Saul, in a paroxysm of uncontrollable rage at his son Jonathan, for maintaining friendly intercourse with David, his rival for the succession, could find no more stinging reproach to throw out against that excellent prince, than to call him 'the son of the perverse rebellious woman.' No epithet, however, is more frequently employed as a term of infamy and reproach, than the degrading appellation of 'dog.'—'The Grecian dog,' was the usual title given by the Mohammedans

to the Emperor of Constantinople ; and the letter of the famous Haroun-al-Raschid to the emperor Nicephorus, was addressed to the 'Roman dog.'* Europeans are generally styled 'those dogs of infidels ;' and when a person has been convicted of any thing mean or infamous, 'he is a dog,' is the only way in which contempt and disgust is expressed. This will explain several passages in the Bible, where the use of this word occurs. 'Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?' 'Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.'—'Beware of dogs, beware of evil-workers.'

[One species of contempt, which princes only have it in their power to show, remains to be described ; and it is reserved for distinguished rebels, caught with arms in their hands, or for those who are suspected of conspiring against the throne. They are first paraded from place to place, arrayed in the mock insignia of the high office their ambition aimed at,—an indignity to which, with studied insolence, the Jewish rulers subjected the Saviour ; afterwards, as it is the way of the orientals meanly to exult over a fallen enemy, they condemn him to death, and often mangle his dead body, or after burial, disinter his remains for the purpose of grinding them to powder, and scattering them on a dunghill.]

* Gibbon, vol. vii. p. 44.

CHAPTER IX.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE HONOURS SHOWN TO THE DEAD.

The duties belonging to the dead have been reckoned eminently sacred in every age, and among every people. The most barbarous nations have regarded the dust of their departed relatives as sacred and inviolable. In Greece, to refuse the manes of their departed friends any part of their accustomed regard, or to neglect any the least duty to which they were thought entitled, was deemed a greater crime than to violate the temples, and plunder the shrines of their gods. They preserved their memories with religious care and reverence; they went so far as to honour their remains with worship and adoration; at the grave of an enemy they relinquished for ever their hatred and envy, and stigmatized a disposition to speak evil of the dead as cruel and inhuman. To prosecute revenge beyond the grave was classed with the foulest actions of which any man could be guilty: no provocations, no affronts from the deceased while alive, or from their children after their death, were deemed sufficient to warrant so nefarious a deed. To disturb the ashes of the dead, fixed a stain on the character of the perpetrator, which no length of time, nor change of circumstances, could remove.*

These sentiments, refined and directed by the dictates and influence of a purer faith, were deeply graven

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, volume ii. p. 161.

on the heart of a genuine Israelite. In mournful silence he attended the dying bed of his friend or parent, to receive his last advice, and obtain his blessing. Persuaded that the souls of good men acquired a greater degree of vigour and elevation, as they drew near the end of their course, and were favoured with a clearer and more extensive prospect of things to come, he reckoned it his duty and his privilege to catch every sentence from the lips of the dying, and especially to mark the solemn moment when the vital functions ceased, and the liberated soul took her flight into the world of spirits. As soon as the last breath had fled, the nearest relation, or the dearest friend, gave the lifeless body the parting kiss, the last farewell and sign of affection to the departed relatve.* This was a custom of immemorial antiquity; for the patriarch Jacob had no sooner yielded up his spirit, than his beloved Joseph, claiming for once the right of the first born, 'fell upon his face and kissed him.'† It is probable he first closed his eyes, as God had promised he should do ('Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes'),‡ and then parted from his body with a kiss. In these particulars the ancient Greeks clearly imitated the Jews; when they saw their friends and relations at the point of resigning their lives, they came close to the bed where they lay, to bid them farewell, and catch their dying words, which they never repeated without reverence.§ They also took their last farewell, by kissing and embracing the dead body. Thus Ovid represents

* Æneid, lib. vi. l. 684; and lib. ix. l. 487.

† Gen. l. 1 ‡ Gen. xlvi. 4.

§ The want of opportunity to pay this compliment to Hector, his widowed spouse laments in these affecting strains:—

Ου γαρ μοι θνησκων λεχεων εκ χειρας ορεξας, &c.

Il. lib. xxiv. l. 743.

'For when dying, thou hast not stretched out thy hand from the bed to me: thou hast not given me sound advice, which I might still bear in sad remembrance, and, with tears, repeat night and day.'

Niobe as kissing her deceased sons; and Corippus, and Justin the younger, as falling upon Justinian, and kissing him with many tears.*

The parting kiss being given, the company rent their clothes, which was a custom of great antiquity, and the highest expression of grief in the primitive ages. This ceremony was never omitted by the Hebrews when any mournful event happened, and was performed in the following manner; they took a knife, and holding the blade downwards, gave the upper garment a cut in the right side, and rent it an hand's breadth. For very near relations, all the garments are rent on the right side.

After closing the eyes, the next care was to bind up the face, which it was no more lawful to behold. The Greeks also were careful to close the eyes of their departed friends, and to cover their faces; both to prevent the horror which the pale and unyielding features, and particularly the eyes of the dead, are apt to excite, and for the satisfaction of the dying, who are usually desirous to spare, as much as possible, the feelings of their surviving relations, and to appear, even after death, as little as may be, the objects of disgust or aversion to those whom they still esteem and love.† The next care of surviving friends is to wash the body, probably, that the ointments and perfumes with which it is to be wrapped up, may enter more easily into the pores, when they are opened by warm water. This ablution, which was always esteemed an act of great charity

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 175.

† Hence the ghost of Agamemnon complained that his wife Clytemnestra had neglected

Χερσι κατ' οφθαλμους ἑλεειν, σοντε σομ' ερεισαι.

Odyss. lib. xi. l. 419.

'to close with her hands his eyes and his mouth.' And in Euripides, when Hippolytus felt himself at the point of death, he called upon his father Theseus quickly to cover his face with a sheet,—

Κρυψον δεμου προσωπον ὡς ταχος πεπλοις.

Hippolyto, v. 1458.

and devotion, was performed by women,* after which the body was placed in a large upper chamber, where it lay for a while in state. Thus the body of Dorcas was washed, and laid in an upper room, till the arival of the apostle Peter, in the hope that his prayers might restore her to life. After the body was washed, it was shrouded, and swathed with a linen cloth, although, in most places, they only put on a pair of drawers and a white shift; and the head was bound about with a napkin; such were the napkin and grave-clothes, in which the Saviour was buried.†

The Greeks and Romans, after washing, anointed the body with oil, or some precious ointment.‡ After it was washed and anointed, they wrapped it in a garment, which seems to have been no other than the cloak of the deceased.§

The body was then embalmed, which was performed

* [Hence the two Marys repaired to perform this office to the body of Jesus. Afterwards, however, it was considered more decorous to employ men or women in this duty according to the sex of the deceased.]—*Editor.* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 180. Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 472.

† Shrouds were plain or ornamental according to the taste or means of the parties. Sometimes the deceased was permitted to retain his own clothes; in other cases, they were enveloped in magnificent shrouds of their own preparing.—*Editor.*

‡ Æneid, lib. vi. l. 219. Homer frequently mentions the custom of anointing the dead, but takes notice of no other unguent but oil. Thus they anointed the body of Patroclus:—

Και τοτε δη λουσαν τε, και ηλειψαν λιπ' ελαιω.

Il. lib. xviii. l. 350.

'As soon as washed, they anointed him with oil.'

§ Thus Misenus, being first washed and anointed, then (as the custom was) laid upon a bed, was wrapped in the garments he had usually worn:—

'Pars calidos latices et ahena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.'

Æneid, lib. vi. l. 218.

'Some get ready warm water and caldrons bubbling from the flames, and wash and anoint his cold limbs. They fetch a groan; then lay the bewailed body on a couch, and throw over it the purple robes, his wonted apparel.'—*Davidson's Translation.* See also Æneid, lib. ix. l. 488.

by the Egyptians after the following method: the brain was removed with a bent iron, and the vacuity filled up with medicaments; the bowels were also drawn out, and the trunk being stuffed with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, except frankincense, which were proper to exsiccate the humours, it was pickled in nitre, in which it lay for seventy days. After this period, it was wrapped in bandages of fine linen and gums, to make it adhere; and was then delivered entire to the relations of the deceased; all its features, and the very hairs of the eyelids being preserved. In this manner were the kings of Judah embalmed for many ages.

But when the funeral obsequies were not long delayed, they used another kind of embalming. They wrapped up the body with sweet spices and odours, without extracting the brain, or removing the bowels. This is the way in which it was proposed to embalm the sacred body of our Saviour; a rite which was prevented by his resurrection.* The former seems to be what the ancients properly denominated embalming; for Moses observes, in reference to Jacob:—'Forty days were fulfilled for him (for so are fulfilled the days of those who are embalmed), and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.'† We learn from two Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus, that the time of mourning was while the body remained with embalmers; which, according to Herodotus, was seventy days.‡ It lay in nitre thirty days, for the purpose of drying up all its superfluous and noxious moisture; and the remaining forty (the time mentioned by Dio-

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 73.

† Embalming by disemboweling was solely an Egyptian practice. The ancient Hebrews observed the practice, which still obtains in the East, of embalming by wrapping the body in a bed of strong spices and dried roses, which, by their virtues, are intended to absorb the humours, and thus preserve the body longer from decay.—*Editor.*

‡ Lib. i. cap. 86

dorus),* were employed in anointing it with gums and spices, to preserve it; which we infer from the words of Moses, was the proper embalming. The former circumstance explains the reason, why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days; the latter explains the meaning of the forty days which were fulfilled for Israel, being the days of those that are embalmed.†

The ancient Greeks were accustomed to lay out the body after it was shrouded in its grave-clothes; sometimes upon a bier, which they bedecked with various sorts of flowers. The place where the bodies were laid out, was near the door of the house: there the friends of the deceased attended them with loud lamentations; a custom which still continues to be observed among that people. Dr Chandler, when travelling in Greece, saw a woman at Megara, sitting with the door of her cottage open, lamenting her dead husband aloud; and at Zante, a woman in a house with the door open, bewailing her little son, whose body lay by her dressed, the hair powdered, the face painted, and bedecked with gold leaf.‡ This custom of mourning for the dead, near the door of the house, was probably borrowed from the Syrians; and if so, it will serve to illustrate an obscure expression of Moses, relative to Abraham:—'And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for

* Lib. i. c. 91, pp. 101, 102.

† [When the funeral honours were long delayed by any unavoidable cause, such as distance from the sepulchre of their fathers, other means were resorted to in order to prevent the corpse from decomposition, of which Josephus has given the following account: 'Aristobulus was taken off by poison, that had been given him by one of Pompey's party, and, for a long time, had not so much as a funeral vouchsafed him in his own country, but his dead body lay above ground, preserved in honey, until it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.'—*Wars*, 11,399. —*Editor*]. Genesis, l. 2, 3.

‡ See Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. chap. vii. throughout. Chandler's Travels, p. 195. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 184.

her.'* He came out of his own separate tent, and seating himself on the ground near the door of her tent, where her corpse was placed, that he might perform those public solemn rites of mourning, which were required, as well by decency as affection, lamented with many tears the loss he had sustained.

While the body lay exposed in this manner, it was customary to give it constant attendance, to defend it from any violence or affront that might be offered.† Not less attentive were the Jews to the dust of their departed friends, of which Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, furnished a striking and affecting example; she 'took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest, until water dropped' upon the dead bodies of her two sons, and the five sons of Michal, the daughter of Saul, who were put to death for the treachery of their father, 'and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night.'‡

Before the door of the house where the corpse lay, stood a vessel of water, the design of which was, that those who had been employed about the dead body might purify themselves by washing; for the heathen world thought themselves polluted by the contact of a dead body, and even considered the house where it lay, not altogether free from pollution.§ The effluvia

* Genesis xxiii. 2.

† Whence Achilles says of his friend Patroclus,

Ος μοι ενι κλισιη δεδαιγμενος οξεϊ χαλκω, etc.

Il. lib. xix. l. 211.

'Slain at the entrance of the tent he lies; while his companions mourn around.' And a little before, we find him so passionately concerned lest flies and vermin should pollute the corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the battle, till Thetis promised to guard it.—*Iliad*, lib. xix. l. 25.

‡ 2 Samuel xxi. 10. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 185.

§ Euripides accordingly makes Helena say, 'Our houses are sacred, not defiled by the death of Menelaus:'—

Καθαρα γαρ ἡμιν δοματ', ουγαρ ενθαδε
Ψυχην· αφηκε Μενελεως.

Helena, v. 1446.

proceeding from a dead body, was thought to pollute every thing into which it entered; on which account every open vessel, as well as the whole house, underwent a general purification, immediately after the funeral solemnities were over. In these sentiments and customs, we discover a faint trace of the laws respecting dead bodies, which were given from the top of Sinai to the people of Israel. 'He that toucheth the dead body of a man shall be unclean seven days. He shall purify himself with it on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall be clean.' . . . . 'This is the law, when a man dieth in a tent; all that come into the tent, and all that is in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. And every open vessel which hath no covering bound upon it, shall be unclean.'*

The body, after being exposed at the door of the house, or in some open apartment,† the usual number of days, was laid in a coffin. This, however, seems to have been an honour commonly reserved for persons of better condition; for, on any other supposition, it is not easy to account for the remark of the inspired writer, that the body of Joseph, after being embalmed, was put in a coffin in Egypt.‡

The meaner sort of people seem to have been interred in their grave-clothes, without a coffin.§ In this

The Romans had the same idea; only instead of placing a vessel of water at the door, they appointed one to go round and purify the attendants.—*Æneid*, lib. vi. l. 229, &c.

* Numb. xix. 11, 12, 14, 15. See Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

† Hence Dorcas is described as laid in an upper room, as being more exposed.—*Editor.*

‡ Genesis l. 26. [The chest in which Joseph was placed was not *marmorea theca*, as Dr Clarke maintains, but most probably of sycamore, a wood which grew in great abundance in that country, and the coffin, in all probability, was similar in form to the mummy chests, although without the idolatrous figures generally inscribed on them.] —*Editor.*

§ Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 371. The body which this traveller saw was wrapped in linen, without a coffin, and slung on

manner was the sacred body of our Lord committed to the tomb.

The body was sometimes placed upon a bier, which bore some resemblance to a coffin or bed, in order to be carried out to burial. Upon one of these was carried forth the widow's son of Nain, whom our compassionate Lord raised to life, and restored to his mother. We are informed in the history of the kings of Judah, that Asa being dead, they laid him in the bed, which was filled with sweet odours. Josephus, the Jewish historian, describing the funeral of Herod the great, says, his bed was adorned with precious stones; his body rested under a purple covering; he had a diadem and a crown of gold upon his head, a sceptre in his hand; and that all his house followed the bed.* The bier used by the Turks at Aleppo, says Russel, is a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only the lid rises with a ledge in the middle.† Christians, according to the same author, are carried to the grave in an open bier of the same kind as that used by the people of Nain. But the Jews seem to have conveyed their dead bodies to their funerals without any support, as may be inferred from the history of Ananias and his wife Sapphira:—'And the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out and buried him.'‡ With equal despatch they carried forth Sapphira, and buried her by her husband. No hint is given of a bier in either of these cases; and the incidents of the story follow one another so rapidly, that we cannot suppose they took time to go and bring one; and as such a scene was not expected, we have no reason to conclude they had one in readiness.§ [It was the Egyptians in ancient

cords between two poles, borne on men's shoulders, with its feet foremost.

* Josephus' Antiq. book xvii. chap. viii. sec. 3.

† Hist. of Aleppo, vol. i. p. 306; and vol. ii. p. 56.

‡ Acts v. 6.

§ [The rapid despatch with which funerals are necessarily conducted in the warm regions of the East, explains the true origin and

times who introduced, and for a long time exclusively continued, the use of coffins or chests for the dead. These were made, as has been already observed, of sycamore wood; and, more generally, of a great many layers of pasteboard glued together, and engraven on the outside with a variety of hieroglyphical figures. The Egyptians of high rank, like great personages amongst ourselves, were deposited in two, three, and sometimes four of these coffins, each outer case surpassing the other in the costliness of the materials, as well as in the elegance of the workmanship. Such was, in all probability, the receptacle provided for receiving the honoured remains of the prime minister of Egypt, for his coffin is noticed by the sacred historian in such terms as convey the idea of extraordinary sumptuousness and honour. The Egyptian coffin was imitated by the great and ambitious in other countries, and there are several instances on record which serve to establish the fact, that in Palestine, as well as in the classical countries of Greece and Rome, kings and other great personages were, at their death, buried in coffins both of wood and stone. Several of these are still found in the excavated vaults, their lids sculptured with various devices. But the mode of conveying a dead body to the sepulchre in most general use, was the bier. This is first noticed in the account given of the funeral of Abner, where the word rendered bier, signifying properly a bed, many learned men are of opinion that it was, in very early times, the practice to carry the dead to the place of interment

reason of the few and simple preparations made for depositing the body in the tomb. The funeral generally takes place within twenty-four hours after death.]—*Editor.* This simple method of conveying a dead body to the grave, was familiar to the most ancient Greeks; for when Patroclus was carried forth by the Myrmidons, Achilles went behind to support his head:

Οπιθεν δε καρη εχε διος Αχιλλευς.

Il. lib. xxiii. l. 136.

Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 189, 190, 192.

on their own bed; an opinion that derives some apparent countenance from the funeral of Herod, described in the preceding page. The bier, however, on which the common people in the East are conveyed to the tomb, was nothing more than a plain wooden board, supported by two long poles, which was often left in the sepulchre along with the body, and only brought away in the case of very poor persons, who employed, on these mournful occasions, the hand-barrows they used in their ordinary labours. Dr Henderson describes a funeral of this description which he saw in the Crimea. 'The body had not been put in a coffin according to the manner of burials conferred upon even the poorest person in Europe, but was simply wrapped round with a white cloth, laid upon a bier or board, and borne by four men to the grave. This mode of performing the funeral obsequies obtains equally among the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans in these parts, with the exception of the European families, who naturally conform to the rites of their ancestors.' It was on a simple vehicle of this kind, with the corpse concealed by a covering of sackcloth, that the widow's son of Nain was being carried to the grave when he was miraculously restored by the word of Jesus.] The Israelites committed the dead to their native dust; and from the Egyptians, probably borrowed the practice of burning many spices at their funerals. 'They buried Asa in his own sepulchres, which he made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him.'* The Old Testament historian entirely justifies the account which the Evangelist gives, of the quantity of spices with which the sacred body of Christ was swathed. The Jews object to the quantity used on that occasion, as unnecessarily profuse, and even incredible; but it appears from their own

* 2 Chronicles xvi. 14.

writings, that spices were used at such times in great abundance. In the Talmud, it is said, that no less than eighty pounds of spices were consumed at the funeral of Rabbi Gamaliel the elder. And at the funeral of Herod, if we may believe the account of their most celebrated historian, the procession was followed by five hundred of his domestics carrying spices.* Why then should it be reckoned incredible, that Nicodemus brought of myrrh and aloes about an hundred pounds weight, to embalm the body of Jesus?†

Nothing, in the estimation of the ancients, could compensate for the want of burial; and to be deprived of a grave they reckoned one of the greatest calamities by which they could be overtaken. In Greece, a person guilty of suffering even the dead body of a stranger, found in the field, or on the shore, to remain unburied, was not permitted to converse with men, nor to appear in the temples; but was considered as profane and polluted, the just object of divine vengeance, and human detestation.‡ A Roman general was held by his fellow-citizens in utter abhorrence, because he had left the bones of his soldiers without the rites of burial on the field of battle. The strong prepossessions of the heathen exerted no influence on the mind of God's ancient people: Instructed by the word of revelation, they well knew that the state of the lifeless body can neither facilitate nor retard the return of the spirit to God who gave it; but they justly thought it belonged to the decencies of life, and was even allied to humanity, to hide, in the tomb, a frame, which, like their own, was lately the habitation of a reasonable soul. These natural feelings give a peculiar emphasis

* Josephus' Antiquities, book xvii. chap. viii. sec. 3.

† Nicodemus brought a greater quantity of spices than was necessary, because he was desirous of showing the greatest respect for the person of Jesus, and, according to oriental notions, the more liberal the use of those spices and odours, the greater the honour. Asa, king of Judah, for the same reason, received a great profusion of them. 2 Chronicles xvi. 14.—*Editor.*

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 162.

to the words of the prophet:—'His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to frost;'* and to the complaint of the Psalmist, 'Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth.'† Mr Bruce relates a circumstance which shows that these words, in whatever way they are to be understood, might be literally verified: In prosecuting his journey towards the capital of Abyssinia, he arrived, with his attendants, at the village of Garigana, whose inhabitants had all perished with hunger the year before; their wretched bones being all unburied and scattered upon the surface of the ground where the village formerly stood. They encamped among the bones of the dead; no space could be found free from them. To persons, however little civilized, and particularly to the Jews, who trembled at the idea of their bones being scattered about in the open field, such a spectacle must have been very revolting, and have filled the mind with many painful reflections. [Hence has arisen a desire, which no where glows in the human breast with such intensity as among eastern people, of being present at the last moments of their parents. This vehement passion, to gratify which persons of all ranks will undertake long journeys, and willingly submit to great sacrifices, is no doubt to be traced to an amiable anxiety to receive the parting blessing of their venerable relative; but chiefly to a feeling which the customs of that part of the world have produced, an anxiety to secure by their presence the due celebration of the last honours, a failure in the least article of which sad ceremonial would entail an indelible stigma on the memory of the deceased, as well as on the character of his surviving family. The duty of attending on such mournful occasions is incumbent upon all the children,—is reckoned indeed their sacred and indispensable duty; and the call to go and bury one's father

* Jeremiah xxxvi. 30. † Psalm cxli. 7.

is a privilege which no master would venture to deny to a servant,—a plea in fact strong enough to justify a breaking off in the midst of the most important business. It may easily be supposed that designing persons will often take advantage of this universal deference to the claims of filial duty, and in point of fact, it is a proverbial saying with the orientals, Let me go and bury my father, whenever they wish to excuse themselves from connexion with a troublesome or dangerous undertaking. Hence the person who made a parade of his readiness to follow our Lord whithersoever he went, but whose ardour, ere long, began to cool when he found the severe conditions of the service, met, on requesting leave of absence to bury his father, with a rebuke, the stern severity of which is not easily accounted for, on the supposition that his father had just breathed his last in the neighbourhood; but the ground for which is at once perceived, when it is known that he was urging a feigned excuse, for indefinitely postponing his entrance on a service, which he had neither the courage nor the candour openly to break off.]*

Nearly connected with this desire was another equally strong and general, of reposing in the sepulchres of their fathers. To be buried in a foreign land, the Greeks looked upon as a very great misfortune, not much inferior to the loss of life. Thus, Electra, in Sophocles, having preserved Orestes from Clytemnestra, by sending him into a foreign country, and many years after, hearing he had ended his days there, wishes he had rather perished at first, than after so many years continuance of life, have died from home, and been deprived of the last offices of his friends. This sentiment is admirably expressed in the epitaph of Leonides the Tarentine, quoted by Potter :—

Πολλον απ' Ιταλιης κειμαι χθονος εκτε Ταραντος
Πατρης, τουτου δε μοι πικροτερον θανατου.

* Matthew viii. 21.

'Far from the land of Italy I lie, and from Tarentum, my native soil, which is more grievous to me than death itself.' This is the reason that the bodies of those who died in foreign countries were often brought home, by the kindness of their surviving relations, and interred with great solemnity in the sepulchres of their fathers. Thus Theseus was removed from Scyrus to Athens; Orestes from Tegea, and his son Tisamenus from Helice to Sparta; and Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene.* The desire of Jacob to be buried in his native land, was partly the natural feeling of the human breast, and partly the effect of religious principle; the unequivocal expression of his faith and hope, that the promise of Jehovah to bestow the land of Canaan upon his posterity, for an inheritance, should in due time be faithfully performed. The solemnity and earnestness of the charge which the dying patriarch gave with his latest breath, to his attending sons, shows how deeply he felt on that point:—'And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers in the cave, that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre; in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite, for a possession of a burying-place.†

[The venerable and affecting phrase of 'being gathered to one's fathers,' evidently originated in the primitive custom of providing family sepulchres in caves, hollowed out in the brow of a mountain, and situated, for the most part, either in some romantic corner of a private garden, or on a dry and sequestered eminence. The cave of Machpelah, in which reposed the ashes of the renowned ancestors of Israel—the

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 163. See also Odyssey, lib. xi. l. 57-78; where the ghost of Elpenor conjures Ulysses, by every tender and every awful consideration, to commit his ashes to the grave in due form, and raise over them a mound on the shore of the foaming ocean, and fix the oar with which he rowed upon the summit.

† Genesis xlix. 29, 30.

tomb within the enclosures of the rich counsellor of Arimathea, that received the sacred corpse of the Saviour, as well as the spacious vault which the vain and ambitious Shebna excavated for himself in an elevated exposure,* are examples of both kinds of repositories for the dead, and the grand object in forming these laborious structures out of the rock or of stone in a soft bed of earth, seems to have been to prevent, by a solid barrier, the family remains from being intermingled with other dust. To this day the tombs in the East are generally of the same character, and placed in similar situations. 'Each respectable family,' says Carne, 'has its own house of the dead; and often this is a little detached garden, and consists of a small stone building, where there is no rock, resembling a house, which is called the sepulchre of the family; it has neither door nor window. On the side of the hill, at a short distance from the town (Der-el-kamar) are a number of similar buildings, which are, in fact, so many family mansions of the dead. They have a most melancholy appearance. Their walls must be opened at each separate interment of the members of a family. This custom, which prevails particularly in the lonely parts of Lebanon, is of great antiquity, and may serve to explain some passages of Scripture. The prophet Samuel was buried in his house at Ramah; it could hardly be in his dwelling house. Joab was buried "in his own house in the wilderness."'†

[Similar to the phrase of being gathered to one's fathers or people, and obviously referring to the same custom, is that expression of the prophet respecting the posthumous ignominy to which the haughty and oppressive monarch of Assyria would be consigned. 'Thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch.'‡ The word branch, in Scripture, is often used metaphorically to signify a descendant of a family; and, in this view, which is undoubtedly the true mean-

* Isaiah xxii. 15-17. † Carne's Views in Syria. ‡ Isaiah xiv. 19.

ing of this passage, the sacred bard has given a most striking picture of the contempt that would be shown to the unhonoured remains of that royal monster. While, as he had elegantly described in the preceding verses, other kings would be deposited, at their death, with becoming splendour in the mausoleums of their royal ancestors, this ruthless oppressor would not be allowed to repose in sepulchral glory, but as an unworthy scion of the stock of Assyrian princes, be thrust out from the sepulchres of his fathers.*]

The funeral procession was attended by professional mourners, eminently skilled in the art of lamentation, whom the friends and relations of the deceased hired, to assist them in expressing their sorrow. They began the ceremony with the stridulous voices of old women, who strove, by their doleful modulations, to extort grief from those that were present. The children in the streets through which they passed, often suspended their sports, to imitate the sounds, and joined with equal sincerity in the lamentations. 'But whereunto shall I liken this generation; it is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.'† Music was afterwards introduced to aid the voices of the mourners: the trumpet was used at the funerals of the great, and the small pipe or flute for those of meaner condition.‡

* To the same feeling is to be traced the affecting sentiment of Nehemiah expressed to the king of Persia:—'Why should not my countenance be sad when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste.'—Nehemiah ii. 3.—*Editor.*

† Matt. xi. 17. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. pp. 195, 205. Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 476-478. [Josephus gives an amusing instance of this. 'The people of Tiberias,' says he, 'at the sight of me came running out of the city perpetually, and abused me greatly; nay, their madness went to such a height, that they made a bier for me, and standing around it, they mourned over me in the way of sport, and I could not but put myself in a pleasant humour at the sight of their madness.'—*Editor.*]

‡ Hired mourners were in use among the Greeks as early as the Trojan war, and probably in ages long before; for in Homer, a

In Egypt, the lower class of people call in women, who play on the tabor; and, whose business it is, like the hired mourners in other countries, to sing elegiac airs to the sound of that instrument, which they accompany with the most frightful distortions of their limbs. These women attend the corpse to the grave, intermixed with the female relations and friends of the deceased, who commonly have their hair in the utmost disorder; their heads covered with dust; their faces daubed with indigo, or, at least, rubbed with mud, and howling like maniacs. Such were the minstrels whom our Lord found in the house of Jairus, making so great a noise round the bed on which the dead body of his daughter lay. The noise and tumult of these retained mourners, and the other attendants, appear to have begun immediately after the person expired.* 'The moment,' says Chardin, 'any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the passions. Especially are these cries long and frightful in the case of death, for the mourning is right down despair, and an image of hell.'†

choir of mourners were planted around the couch on which the body of Hector was laid out, who sang his funeral dirge with many sighs and tears:

——— τον μεν επειτα
Τρηνοις εν λεχεεσσι θεσαν, παρα δ ἑισαν αοιδους, etc.
Il. lib. xxiv. l. 720.

'A melancholy choir attend around,
With plaintive sighs and music's solemn sound;
Alternately they sing, alternate flow
The obedient tears, melodious in their woe.'—*Pope.*

* These hired mourners varied in number according to the rank and means of the family. But so indispensable was their presence reckoned, that the poorest man in Judea had two pipers and one mourning woman. Numbers of singing men and women lamented Josiah. 2 Chronicles xxxv. 25.—*Editor.*

† An example of this is furnished by the splendid funeral procession of Jacob, the whole circumstances of which were conducted in the Egyptian style. The hired mourners broke out at intervals

The longest and most violent acts of mourning are when they wash the body; when they perfume it; and when they carry it out to be interred. [The company of mourners is gradually increased by the influx of strangers from the neighbourhood, who crowd in great numbers on such occasions, whether known or unknown. Hence some idea may be formed of the concourse who repaired from Jerusalem to comfort the sisters of Lazarus, the more especially when it is remembered, that his death happened during the passover.] During this violent outcry, the greater part, even of the relations, do not shed a single tear. While the funeral procession moves forward, with the violent wailings of the females, the male attendants engage in devout singing.*

It is evident that this sort of mourning and lamentation was a kind of art among the Jews :—'Wailing shall be in the streets : and they shall call such as are skilful of lamentation to wail.'† Mourners are hired at the obsequies of Hindoos and Mohammedans as in former times. To the dreadful noise and tumult of the hired mourners, the following passage of Jeremiah indisputably refers, and shows the custom to be derived from a very remote antiquity :—'Call for the mourning women, that they may come ; and send for cunning women, that they may come ; and let them make

into the most passionate exclamations of grief, but it was chiefly when they approached the confines of Canaan, and were about to enjoy the last opportunity of accompanying the corpse, that they gave way to the full tide, and the most vehement expressions, of sorrow. That last paroxysm lasted for seven days, during which, at stated periods, the whole assembly accompanied the hired mourners in their howlings; and the scene was so extraordinary, that the people of the neighbourhood called the place ever after Abel-Mizraim, the mourning of the Egyptians. This circumstance is the more worthy of notice, as the Egyptians were of all other people the most violent in their grief, and wild and frantic in their gesticulations. There is no wonder, therefore, that the Egyptians and the house of Pharoah heard Joseph weeping aloud, Gen. xlv. 2.—*Ed.*

* Russel's History of Aleppo, vol. I. p. 305, *et seq.*

† Amos v. 16. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 251, 270.

haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters.'*

[It is manifest, on the ordinary principles of human nature, that those who make it their business to weep for the dead, will always exceed, in their artificial sobs, the sincere lamentations of relatives; and that professional mourners, whose sole object is to make a livelihood by giving their services at funerals, will try to recommend themselves by their extravagant inventions, and their superior arts in inflaming the passion of grief. But, however wild and extravagant some of these mourning women might be in their mimic manifestations of strong feeling, they had always some approved forms to which they frequently resorted, and one of the most natural of these is that calling upon the deceased by name, and bewailing the premature extinction of his glory, beauty, and courage, or the irreparable loss the world would sustain, in being deprived of his rare merit. 'On the occasion of a death in the East,' says Mr Lane, 'the women of the family break out into the most violent lamentations, crying out,—"Oh, my master; oh, laurel of the house; oh, my misfortune," &c., in which they are often joined by the females of the neighbourhood, and by others, if they are in a condition to engage them, who unite with the inmates in their wailings.'† At intervals, continues this writer, the mourning women took the leading part on a signal from the chief mourner, and then the real mourners remained comparatively silent, but attested their grief by sobbing, by beating their breasts, leaning their head, and joining also aloud in the lamenting chorus of the hired mourners. In Egypt, each of these women brings with her a tambourine, beating it, and exclaiming several times,—'Alas for him;' and the friends cry, in like manner,—'Alas for him.' Precisely the same

* Jeremiah ix. 17. See also Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 62.
† Lane's Modern Egyptians.

form of expression was employed both by the natural and professional mourners of antiquity. Thus, when the prophet of the Lord had brought the corpse of 'him that was disobedient' back to the city, the mourners mourned over him, saying, 'Alas! my brother.'* And thus the unhappy doom pronounced against Jehoiakim was that he should be deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead:—'They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah! my brother, or Ah! my sister! They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!'†]

The relations of the deceased often testify their sorrow in a more serious and affecting manner, by cutting and slashing their naked arms with daggers. [Mr Morier, describing the conduct of Persian priests at the anniversary of the death of Hossein, says, 'I have seen the most violent of them walk about the streets almost naked, and their bodies streaming with blood, by the voluntary cuts which they had given themselves, either as cuts of anguish or mortification.' These ghastly wounds, it was quite common, as it still is in the present day, for idolatrous people to inflict upon their persons; and it seems to have been considered a spectacle grateful to the gods to witness these self-inflicted barbarities.] To this absurd and barbarous custom, the prophet thus alludes:—'For every head shall be bald, and every beard clipped; upon all hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth.'‡ And again, 'Both the great and the small shall die in the land; they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves.'§ It seems to have been very common in Egypt, and among the people of Israel, before the age of Moses, else he had not forbidden it by an express law:—'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead:'‖ 'Ye are the child-

* 1 Kings xiii. 30.
† Jeremiah xxii. 18.
‡ Jeremiah xlviii. 37.
§ Jeremiah xvi. 6,
‖ Leviticus xix. 28.

ren of the Lord your God : ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.'* And the priests of Baal 'cried aloud, and cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.'† As an illustration of this custom, Mr Harmer refers to the 'wounds in the hands' which the prophet had imposed on himself, in token of affection to a person.‡ And Calmet seems to think that 'the marks of the Lord Jesus, which the apostle Paul bore on his body, might be the scars of those wounds which he had inflicted on his arms, as proofs of his love to his Redeemer.' But it is not to be supposed that either of these inspired teachers would venture to display their affection to any person, by wilfully transgressing a divine law, couched in clear and precise terms; nor that such unwarrantable tokens of regard would be recorded with approbation in the sacred writings.

The funeral processions of the Jews in Barbary are conducted nearly in the same manner as those in Syria. The corpse is borne by four to the place of burial ; in the first rank march the priests, next to them the kindred of the deceased ; after whom come those that are invited to the funeral ; and all singing in a sort of plain song, the forty-ninth psalm. To the more sedate singing of the Jewish mourners, Mr Harmer is inclined to refer these words of Amos :—'A man's uncle shall take him up, and he that burneth him, to bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say to him that is by the sides of the house,—Is there yet any with thee ? and he shall say, No. Then shall he say, Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord.'§ In the forty-ninth Psalm, the devout worshipper expresses his hope, that God will raise up his people to life, after they have been long in the state of the dead ; but when, in a house so crowded with inhabitants, that there should be ten men in it, all should perish by the

* Deuteronomy, xiv. 1. † 1 Kings xviii. 28. ‡ Zechariah xiii. 6
§ Amos vi. 10. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 8, 9.

sword, the famine, and the pestilence, so that not one should remain, was it not natural, that he who searched that desolate abode, should say when he carried out the last dead body for interment :—Be silent ; it does not become us to make mention of God's care of Israel, in hereafter raising us from the dead, when he is thus visibly forsaking his people ? Or, in the words of our translation :—'Hold thy tongue, for we may not make mention of the name of the Lord.' It is evidently the design of the prophet, to warn his people that public calamities were approaching, so numerous and severe, as should make them forget the usual rites of burial, and even to sing one of the songs of Zion over the dust of a departed relative. This appears to be confirmed by a prediction in the eighth chapter :—'And the songs of the temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord God ; there shall be many dead bodies in every place ; they shall cast them forth with silence ;' they shall have none to lament and bewail : none to blow the funeral trump, or touch the pipe and tabor ; none to sing the plaintive dirge, or express their hope of a blessed resurrection, in the strains of inspiration. All shall be silent despair.

The orientals bury without the walls of their cities, unless when they wish to bestow a distinguishing mark of honour upon the deceased.* For this reason, the sepulchres of David and his family, and the tomb of Huldah the prophetess, were within the city of Jerusalem ; and perhaps the only ones to be found there.† The sepulchres of the Hebrews, that were able to afford the necessary expense, were extensive caves or vaults, excavated in the native rock by the art and exertions of man.‡ The roofs were generally arched ; and some

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 218. The Greeks and Romans uniformly buried without the precincts of their towns ; but we have accounts both of royal and private tombs within the city of Jerusalem. Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 31.

† 1 Kings ii. 10 ; and 2 Kings xiv. 20.

‡ The public or common cemeteries are without the walls, private

were so spacious, as to be supported by colonnades. All round the sides were cells for the reception of the sarcophagi; these were ornamented with appropriate sculpture, and each was placed in its proper cell. [The sepulchres were arranged internally in various ways. Sometimes there were cells excavated in the sides for holding the bodies; sometimes there were stone shelves ranged all along the sides, one above the other; while in others the floor of the tomb was raised so as to make different compartments, this lower position in the family vaults being reserved for servants. These circumstances serve to throw light on that highly poetical passage, where the kings of the earth are represented as lying in sepulchral glory, and as rising from their thrones on the arrival of the haughty oppressor of Assyria.

['With regard to the *kemautem*, translated thrones, we may no doubt give them this dignified name, when kings and princes happen to be the persons to whom they belong, and by whom they are occupied; but they were just such seats as any other person might use if they pleased; such, for instance, as were sometimes erected before the doors of houses (Prov. ix. 14), or by the way side in the neighbourhood of a city (1 Sam. iv. 13). They might be formed of turf, wood, or stone, and in such a way that a person might either sit or recline upon them; and had Dr Campbell taken the trouble to read on till verse 18, he would have found the prophet representing all the kings of the nations as lying in glory, instead of preserving the more dignified posture in which he would place them. These thrones were, in fact, nothing but couches elevated a little above the floor, as a mark of distinction; and hence, says Ezekiel, when speaking of the illus-

ones often in garden enclosures, or wherever it may suit the fancy of the owner. According to Jewish notions, public cemeteries, to prevent any pollution, required to be situated at the distance of 2000 cubits from Levitical cities, and 50 from others.—*Editor.*

trious dead among the Persians, 'They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain' (xxxii. 25). All the kings of the nations are here represented as lying in glory, or receiving the honours due to their rank and station in life; but the Assyrian was to be degraded after his death, according to the custom of ancient times with regard to such characters (2 Chron. xxi. 20), for his tyranny and oppression in the land of the living. Verses 18, 19, 20, may be translated and paraphrased as follows:—All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory (on an elevated couch), every one in his own sepulchre (or apartment). But thou art cast out of thy sepulchre, like a rejected ozier, which is lopped from the tree, and thrown among rubbish (thrown among a heap of vulgar dead), with them that go down to the stones of the pit (the floor or pavement of the cemetery), as a carcase trodden under foot. Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial (thou shalt not receive the funeral honours due to a king, and commonly paid to the kings of the nations), because thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people. The passage may be illustrated by the following citation, which Harmer quotes from Maillet's Letters, and which I shall transcribe exactly as he has done:—'But it must not be imagined that the bodies deposited in these gloomy apartments, were all enclosed in chests, and placed in niches. The greatest part were simply embalmed, and swathed after that manner that every one has some notion of; after which they laid them, one by the side of another, without any ceremony. Some were even put into their tombs without any embalming at all, or such a slight one, that there remains nothing of them in the linen in which they were wrapped, but the bones, and these half rotten. It is probable that each considerable family had one of these burial places to themselves; that the niches were designed for the bodies of the heads of the family; and those of their domesties and slaves had no other care

taken of them, than the laying them on the ground, after having been embalmed, or even without that, which without doubt was also all that was done even to the heads of families of less distinction.'*] The cave or sepulchre admitted no light, being closed by a great stone which was rolled to the mouth, by the narrow passage or entrance.† Many of these receptacles are still in Judea; two in particular are more magnificent than all the rest, and for that reason supposed to be the sepulchres of the kings. One of these is in Jerusalem, and contains twenty-four cells; the other, containing twice that number, is without the city. 'You are to form to yourself,' says Lowth, speaking of these sepulchres, 'an idea of an immense subterraneous vault, a vast gloomy cavern, all round the sides of which are cells to receive the dead bodies; here the deceased monarchs lie in a distinguished sort of state, suitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beside him, his sword at his head, and the bodies of his chiefs and companions round about him.'‡

'Whoever,' says Maundrell, 'was buried there, this is certain, that the place itself discovers so great an expense both of labour and of treasure, that we may well suppose it to have been the work of kings. You approach it at the east side, through an entrance cut out of the natural rock, which admits you into an open court of about forty paces square, cut down into the

* Extracted from a paper in the Christian Repository, for July 1819, abounding with learned and judicious criticism.—*Editor.*

† Some of them were shut with stone doors, which were hung in the same manner as the doors of their houses, by a long circular spindle running up into the architrave above, and a short lower pivot in a socket in the threshold below. Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 254-256.

‡ Lowth's Translation, vol. ii. pp. 328, 329. Buckingham's Trav. vol. i. pp. 319, 320-324. Again, 'All round the sides of this mountain' (Zion), says the same writer, 'and particularly on that facing towards the valley of Hinnom, are numerous excavations, which may have been habitations of the living, but are more generally taken for sepulchres of the dead.' Vol. ii. p. 30.

rock, with which it is encompassed instead of walls. On the south side of the court, is a portico, nine paces long and four broad, hewn likewise out of the rock. This was a kind of architrave running along its front, adorned with sculpture of fruits and flowers, still discernible, but much defaced by time. At the end of the portico on the left hand, you descend to the passage into the sepulchres. Passing through it, you arrive in a large apartment about seven or eight yards square, cut out of the natural rock. Its sides and ceiling are so exactly square, and its angles so just, that no architect with levels and plummets could build a room more regular; and the whole is so firm and entire, that it may be called a chamber hollowed out of one piece of marble. From this room, you pass into six more, one within another, all of the same fabric with the first. Of these the two innermost are deeper than the rest, having a second descent of about six or seven steps into them. In every one of these rooms, except the first, were coffins of stone placed in niches in the sides of the chambers. They had been at first covered with handsome lids, and carved with garlands; but now most of them are broken to pieces by sacrilegious hands.* The sides and ceilings of the rooms were also drooping with the moist damps condensed upon them; to remedy which nuisance, and to preserve these chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each room a small channel cut in the floor, which served to drain the drops that fell constantly into it.'†

To these sepulchres, and their interior chambers, one within another, the wise man, by a bold and striking figure, compares the dwelling of a lewd woman:—'Her house is the way to *hades*;' her first or outer chamber is like the open court that leads to the tomb, 'going down to the chambers of death;' her private apart-

* The covers of the stone coffins at the ancient Gamala are ornamented in the same way. Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 257.

† Maundrell's Journey, p. 116–118.

ments, like the separate recesses of a sepulchre, are the receptacles of loathsome corruption; and he calls them, in allusion to the solidity of the rock in which they are hewn, the 'long home, *beth olam*, the house of ages.'

The higher such sepulchres were cut in the rock, among perpendicular cliffs, so as to be almost inaccessible, or the more conspicuously they were situated, the greater was supposed to be the honour of reposing there. 'Hezekiah was buried in the chiefest,' says our translation; rather in the highest part, 'of the sepulchres of the sons of David,' to do him the more honour. The vanity of Shebna, which so much displeased the Lord, was discovered in preparing himself a sepulchre in the face of some lofty rock:—'What hast thou here, and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth a habitation for himself in a rock?'* Several modern travellers mention some monuments still remaining in Persia of great antiquity, which gave them a clear idea of Shebna's pompous design for his sepulchre.† They consist of several tombs, each of them hewn in a high rock near the top; the front of the rock to the valley below, being the outside of the sepulchre, is adorned with carved work in relief. Some of these sepulchres are about thirty feet in the perpendicular from the valley.‡ Diodorus Siculus mentions these ancient monuments, and calls them the sepulchres of the kings of Persia.§ The tombs of Telmessus, in the island of Rhodes, which Dr Clarke visited, furnish a still more remarkable commentary on this text. They 'are of two kinds; the first are sepulchres hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks. Wherever the side of a mountain presented an almost inaccessible steep, there the ancient workmen seem to have bestowed their principal labour. In such situa-

* Isaiah xxii. 16. † Morier's Travels, vol. p. 66.
‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 219.
§ Lib. i. cap. 4, p. 156; et lib. xvii. cap. 71.

tions are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art, as to exhibit open facades, porticoes with Ionic columns, gates and doors beautifully sculptured, in which are carved the representation as of embossed iron work, bolts and hinges of one stone.'*

'The other kind of tomb is the true Grecian soros,† the sarcophagus of the Romans. Of this sort there are several, but of a size and grandeur far exceeding any thing of the kind elsewhere, standing in some instances upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty precipitous rocks. Each consists of a single stone, others of still larger size of more than one stone. Some consist of two masses of stone, one for the body or chest of the soros, and the other for its operculum; and to increase the wonder excited by the skill and labour manifested in their construction, they have been almost miraculously raised to the surrounding heights, and there left standing upon the projections and crags of the rocks, which the casualties of nature presented for their reception.'

'At Macri, the tombs are cut out of the solid rock, in the precipices towards the sea. Some of them have a kind of portico, with pillars in front.‡ In these, they were almost plain. The hewn stone was as smooth as if the artist had been employed upon wood, or any other soft substance. They most nearly resemble book-cases, with glass doors. A small rectangular

* Travels, vol. ii. p. 215. See also Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. iii. p. 97. [Some sepulchres are found in the cliffs of the mountains at Naksh-i-Roustan, hewn out of an almost perpendicular rock, 300 feet high.]—*Editor.*

† Soros means a cave scooped out of a rock.—*Editor.*

‡ 'The sides of the mountains,' near Petra, the capital of the Nabatæi, 'covered with an endless variety of excavated tombs and private dwellings, presented altogether the most singular scene we had ever beheld: and we must despair to give the reader an idea of the singular effect of rocks tinted with the most extraordinary hues, whose summits present us with nature in her most savage and romantic form, while their bases are worked out in all the symmetry and regularity of art, with colonnades, and pediments, and ranges of corridors adhering to the perpendicular surface.'—*Irby and Mangles' Travels*, p. 414-423, Eclectic Review for Jan. 1824.

opening, scarcely large enough to pass through, admits a stranger to the interior of these tombs; where is found a square chamber, with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock. The mouths of these sepulchres had been originally closed by square slabs of stone, exactly adapted to grooves cut for their reception; and so nicely adjusted, that when the work was finished, the place of entrance might not be observed. Of similar construction were the sepulchres of the Jews in Palestine, and particularly that in which our Lord was buried.'

'Many of these have the appearance of being inaccessible; but by dint of climbing from rock to rock, at the risk of a dangerous fall, it is possible to ascend even to the highest. They are fronted with rude pillars, which are integral parts of the solid rock. Some of them are twenty feet high. The mouths of these sepulchres are closed with beautiful sculptured imitations of brazen or iron doors, with hinges, knobs, and bars.'

This intelligent traveller visited a range of tombs of the same kind on the borders of the lake of Tiberias, hewn by the earliest inhabitants of Galilee, in the rocks which face the water. They were deserted in the time of our Saviour, and had become the resort of wretched men, afflicted by diseases, and made outcasts of society; for these tombs are particularly alluded to in the account of a cure performed upon a maniac in the country of the Gadarenes.*

The tombs at Naplous, the ancient Sichem, where Joseph, Joshua, and others, were buried, are also hewn out of the solid rock, and are durable as the hills

* The tombs at Gamala are still used as dwellings by the poor. Buckingham's Travels, vol. ii. p. 290. The subterranean apartments cut in the rocks, which are to be seen in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, Niebuhr thinks must have been chiefly used for the same purpose. Travels, vol i. p. 234.

in which they are excavated. Constituting integral parts of mountains, and chiselled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description, these monuments suffer no change from the lapse of ages; they have defied, and will defy, the attacks of time, and continue as perfect at this hour, as they were in the first moment of their completion.*

'The tombs of the lower orders,' says Dr Shaw, 'are constructed of stone, at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpose. Each family has a particular portion of it walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained for many generations; for, in these enclosures, the graves are all distinct and separate, having each of them a stone placed upright both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name of the person who lies there interred; while the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved all over with tiles. The graves of more wealthy citizens are further distinguished by some square chambers, or cupolas, that are built over them.'† The sepulchres of the Jews are made so large, that persons might walk into them. The rule for making them is this: he that sells ground to his neighbour, to make a burying-place, must make a court at the mouth of the cave, six feet by six, according to the bier and those that bury. It was into this court, that the women, who visited the sepulchre of our Lord, entered. Here they could look into the sepulchre, and the several graves in it, and see every thing within. The words of the sacred historian are: 'And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man, sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment, and they were affrighted.'‡

* Dr Clarke's Travels in Turkey, &c. vol. ii. p. 242-256, and 463, 512, 513.

† Shaw's Travels, vol. i. p. 395.

‡ Mark xvi. 5. Shaw's Travels, vol. ii. p. 13-15.

These different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of the enclosures, are constantly kept clean, white-washed and beautified; and, by consequence, continue to this day to be an excellent comment upon that expression of our Saviour's :*—'Ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwards, but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness . . . Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous.'† It was in one of these chambers, or cupolas, which were built over the sepulchre, that the demoniacs, mentioned in the eighth chapter of Matthew, probably had their dwelling.

As the Jews did not make use of coffins, they placed their dead separately in niches, or little cells, cut into the sides of the caves, or rooms, which they had hewed out of the rock. This form of the Jewish sepulchre suggests an easy solution of a difficulty in the resurrection of Lazarus. The sacred historian states, that when our Lord cried with a loud voice, 'Lazarus come forth, he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes.'‡ Upon this circumstance, the enemies of revelation seize with avidity, and demand with an air of triumph, How he should come out of a grave, who was bound hand and foot with grave-clothes? But the answer is easy: the Evangelist does not mean that Lazarus walked out of the sepulchre, but only that he sat up, then putting his legs over the edge of his niche or cell, slid down and stood upright upon the floor; all which he might easily do, notwithstanding his arms were bound close to his body, and his legs were tied strait together, by means of the shroud and rollers with which he was swathed. Hence, when he was come forth, Jesus ordered his relations to loose him, and let him go; a circumstance plainly importing

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. i. p. 261.

† Matt. xxiii. 27, 29.

‡ John xi. 44.

the historian's admission that Lazarus could not walk till he was unbound.

The Jewish tombs, like those of Macri, have entrances, which were originally closed with a large and broad stone rolled to the door, which it was not lawful, in the opinion of a Jew, to displace. They were adorned with inscriptions and emblematical devices, alluding to particular transactions in the lives of the persons that lay there entombed. Thus the place where the dust of Joshua reposed, was called Timnath-serah, because the image of the sun was engraved on his sepulchre, in memory of his arresting that luminary in his career, till he had gained a complete victory over the confederate kings. Such significant devices were common in the East. Cicero says, the tomb of Archimedes was distinguished by the figure of a sphere and a cylinder.* [On the tombs of Rabbis were engraven the figure of a book, and on those of warriors their armour. There is little reason to doubt that besides these emblematic devices, the tombs of the ancient Hebrews were surmounted by epitaphs. Those monumental inscriptions were made in various ways; sometimes a rude perpendicular stone was the only notice given to the passenger that a corpse was deposited below, of which an example occurs in the history of Jacob, who 'set a pillar upon the grave of Rachel:—that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.'† But the general practice was to erect a polished monument, or, if the tomb was in an excavated rock, to smooth a portion of the rock, on which the inscription was either engraven with a stylus, or

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 224. In the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor, Mr Buckingham found many graves of a different form from any of those now described. These 'were cut down into the rock, exactly in the way in which our modern graves are dug in the earth.' They were 'covered with rude blocks of stone, sufficiently large to overlap the edge of the grave on all sides, and of a height or thickness equal to the depth of the grave itself, varying from two to four feet.' Travels, vol. ii. p. 311. He mentions similar graves in other parts of his travels, and he considers them as the work of a very early age.

† Gen. xxxv. 20.

painted on a crust of plaster, or a tablet of lead fastened on its front. Of these various kinds of epitaphs, specimens are still found in the famous written mountains in the wilderness of Sinai, in the burying place of the Egyptians, in the place of mummies, and in the engravings on the natural rock on the banks of the Lycus. There is an allusion to a sepulchral inscription in that passage where Josiah is represented as 'turning himself, and spying the sepulchres that were in the mount, and he said, What title (inscription) is that that I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah.'* This incident affords a strong presumption, that epitaphs were by no means uncommon, or reserved only for persons of high and distinguished rank; and although the tomb, which was the subject of Josiah's remark, seems to have been an excavated, and, therefore, a private sepulchre, yet it is highly probable that the custom, once introduced, would not be long in being extended to the tombs that crowded the common cemeteries of the cities. Foreigners and persons of bad character were not admitted by the ancient Jews into the public and common cemeteries. In the outskirts of Jerusalem, was a field set apart for the burial of strangers; and a curious discovery was made last year by a most intelligent traveller, of a tomb in which were found a vast multitude of human skulls, so different in form and appearance, that he had no doubt this sepulchre was one of those appropriated to the use of strangers in the environs of that city.† Besides, executed criminals were buried in a place reserved for persons who left the world in that ignominious manner.]

The funeral ceremony of the Jews was finished by rolling the appointed stone to the door of the sepulchre; after which the mourning and lamentations were renewed. [Salutations were never made at funerals. People came and joined the procession in silence, with-

* 2 Kings xxiii. 16. † Wilde's Travels.

out any mutual recognition, and on returning from the sepulchres, they began the sittings and standings, as they were called, the forms of which were punctiliously observed as an approved method of alleviating the distress of the relatives by an expression of universal sympathy. According to etiquette, not fewer than ten persons required to be present, but generally all the company waited to assist in this benevolent office; and the practice was, at each standing, for the relatives to sit in the centre, while the rest broke into loud and vehement howlings. Seven of these standings occurred between the sepulchre and the house they were returning to.]

The ancient Israelites, in imitation of the heathen, from whom they borrowed the practice, frequently cut themselves with knives and lancets, scratched their faces, or pricked certain parts of their bodies with needles. These superstitious practices were expressly forbidden in their law:—'Ye are the children of the Lord your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.'*

The bereaved Greeks tore, cut off, and sometimes shaved their hair;† they reckoned it a duty which they owed to the dead, to deprive their heads of the greatest part of their honours, or, in the language of Scripture, made a baldness between their eyes; for, in Euripides, Electra finds fault with Helen for sparing her locks, and so defrauding her departed friends of their due respect.‡ Lewis and Clarke discovered some traces of this very ancient custom among the savage tribes on the banks of the Missouri, who cut short their hair in

* See also Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 177. When the Persians celebrated the death of Hossein, the most violent of them walk about the streets almost naked, with only their loins covered, and their bodies streaming with blood by the voluntary cuts which they have given themselves, either as acts of love, anguish, or mortification.

† Iliad, lib. xviii. l. 25; et lib. xxiii. l. 46. Odyssey, lib. iv. l. 198.

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 197. See also Adam's Roman Antiq. pp. 486, 487.

the neck for the dead, and in deep mourning, over all the head.* Achilles, not more civilized than they, protested under the walls of Troy, that he would not bathe himself in water till he had placed his friend Patroclus upon the funeral pile, raised over his ashes a mound of earth, and cut off his own hair in honour of the deceased.† When the pile was prepared, they laid the body of Patroclus upon it, and cutting off their locks, covered it from head to foot with their hair.‡

Sometimes the hair was cast into the funeral pile, to be consumed with the dead body, and sometimes it was laid upon the grave; for Canace, in Ovid, bewails her misfortune, because she was debarred from performing this ceremony to her beloved Macareus :—

> 'Non mihi te licuit lacrimis perfundere justis,
> In tua non tonsas ferre sepulchra comas.'§

Hence, to cut off the hair for the dead, was either a part of heathen superstition, or intimately connected with the undue honours which they paid to their departed friends. This idea is confirmed by the Scholiast upon Sophocles, who says, it was used partly to render the ghost of the deceased person propitious, which seems to be the reason they threw the hair into the fire to burn with him, or laid it on his body; partly that they might appear disfigured and careless of their beauty; for long hair was looked upon as very becoming, and the Greeks prided themselves in it, on account of which they are so frequently honoured by Homer with the epithet of well-haired.‖

The same custom prevailed among the ancient Persians and the neighbouring states.¶ On the death of Cæsar Germanicus, some barbarous nations, at war among themselves, and with the Romans, agreed to a cessation of hostilities, as if their grief had been of a

* Travels in Louisiana, vol. i. p. 121.

† Iliad, lib. xxiii. l. 45, 151. ‡ Il. lib. xxiii. l. 135. § Ibid. l. 140.

‖ Καρηκομοωντες. See Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 192.

¶ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.

domestic nature, and on an occasion which alike concerned them both. Some princes, it was reported, cut off their beards, and shaved the heads of their wives, as an expression of their profound grief.* The Jews, and other nations of Syria, expressed their sorrow for the loss of their friends in the same manner. When the patriarch Job was informed of the death of his children, and the destruction of his property, he arose and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground and worshipped; and in the prophecies of Jeremiah, we read of eighty men who were going to lament the desolations of Jerusalem, having their beards shaven, and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves (in direct violation of the divine law), with offerings and incense in their hand, to bring them to the house of the Lord.† Shaving, however, was, on some occasions, a sign of joy; and to let the hair grow long, the practice of mourners, or persons in affliction. Joseph shaved himself before he went into the palace ;‡ and Mephibosheth let his hair grow during the time David was banished from Jerusalem, but shaved himself on his return. This practice was not unknown among the surrounding nations ; for mariners were accustomed to shave themselves upon their deliverance from shipwreck; to which Juvenal makes this allusion :—

——— ' gaudent ibi vertice raso
Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.'§
' And then shorn sailors boast what they endured.'

Hence Pliny, in one of his epistles, interprets his dream

* Sueton, lib. iv. sec. 5.

† Jer. xli. 5. [Shaving the head and the beard is very generally done, and according to oriental notions is a most natural expression of grief and sorrow. It is an announcement of a person's resolution to withdraw for a while from society, in which no inhabitant of the East could venture to appear without his beard. Letting the nails grow is also an oriental form of expressing violent distress, and ' some,' says Mr Roberts, ' may be seen with nails like bird's claws,' literally folding round the ends of the fingers, or shooting through the backs of their hands.]—*Editor.*

‡ Gen. xli. 14.

§ Sat. xii. v. 82.

of cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some imminent danger. This difference is to be accounted for by the fashions of several nations: for where it was usual to wear long hair, there mourners shaved themselves; but where short hair was in fashion, there the length of hair was a token of mourning.

In ordinary sorrows they only neglected their hair, or suffered it to hang down loose upon their shoulders; in more poignant grief they cut it off; but in a sudden and violent paroxysm, they plucked it off with their hands. Such a violent expression of sorrow is exemplified in the conduct of Ezra, which he thus describes: —'And when I heard this thing I rent my garment and my mantle, and plucked off the hair of my head, and of my beard, and sat down astonied.'* They withdrew as much as possible from the world; they abstained from banquets and entertainments; they banished from their houses as unsuitable to their circumstances, and even painful to their feelings, musical instruments of every kind, and whatever was calculated to excite pleasure, or that wore an air of mirth and gaiety; they frequented no public solemnities, and often denied themselves the comforts and conveniences of life; they loathed the light of heaven, and sought only the dark shade and lonely retirement, which were supposed to bear some resemblance to their misfortunes.† Thus did the king of Persia testify his sorrow for the

* Ezra ix. 3. The Greeks, and other nations around them, expressed the violence of their sorrow in the same way; for in Homer, Ulysses and his companions bewailing the death of Elpinor, howled and plucked off their hair:—

Εζομενοι δ' ενταυθα γοων τιλλοντο τε χαιτας.

† Admetus in Euripides, overwhelmed with affliction for the death of Alcestis:

Παυσω δε κωμους, συμποτων θ' ὁμιλιας
Στεφανους τε μουσαν θ' ἡ κατ'ειχε πριν δομους.

'I will no more indulge in public entertainments, in the conversation of my friends, in chaplets and music, which formerly cheered my dwelling.—Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 195.

decree, into which his wily courtiers had betrayed him, and which, without the miraculous interposition of heaven, had proved fatal to his favourite minister :—'Then the king went to his palace, and spent the night fasting; neither were instruments of music brought before him.'*

Oriental mourners divested themselves of all ornaments, and laid aside their jewels, gold, and every thing rich and splendid in their dress.† ['On entering a large assembly of Persians,' says Mr Morier, 'we found them clad in dark-coloured clothes, which, accompanied with their black caps, their black beards, and their dismal faces, really looked as if they were afflicting their souls. We observed that *no man did put on his ornaments*. They neither wore their daggers, nor any part of their dress which they look upon as ornamental.'] This proof of humiliation and submission Jehovah required of his offending people in the wilderness :—'Therefore, now put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee. And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb.'‡ Long after the time of Moses, that rebellious nation again received a command of similar import :—'Strip you, and make you bare, and gird sackcloth upon your loins.'§

* Dan. vi. 18.

† The Grecian ladies were directed in this manner to mourn the death of Achilles:

Μητε χρυσω φαιδρα καλλυνειν ρεθη, etc.

'Not clothed in rich attire of gems and gold, with glittering silks or purple.' Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 195. See also Diodorus Sic. lib. i. cap. 72, vol. i. p. 83.

‡ Exod. xxxiii. 5, 6.

§ Isaiah xxxii. 11. See Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 178. The garments of the mourner were always black; Procne, having notice of Philomela's death, laid aside her robes, beaming with a profusion of gold, and appeared in sable vestments; and Althæa, when her brethren were slain by Meleager, exchanged her glittering robes for black:

'—— et auratas mutavit vestibus atris.'—*Ovid.*

These sable vestments differed from their ordinary dress, not only

In Judea, the mourner was clothed in sackcloth of hair; and, by consequence, in sable robes. If dead bodies in the East were shrouded in cloth of this kind, surviving relatives probably wore it in assimilation to the departed; and penitents, by assuming it, seemed to confess that their guilt exposed them to death. Some of the eastern nations, in modern times, bury in linen; but Chardin informs us, that others still retain the use of sackcloth for that purpose.

These signs of mourning were, in times of public calamity or danger, extended to domestic animals, and sometimes to inanimate objects, that every thing might correspond as much as possible with the general feeling.* On the prediction of Jonah being reported to the king of Nineveh, 'he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh, by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing; let them not feed nor

in colour, but also in value, being made of cheap and coarse stuff, as appears from these lines of Terence:

> 'Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus
> Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri
> Ejus anus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.'

'We found her busy at the loom, in a cheap mourning habit, which she wore, I suppose, for the old woman's death.' Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 196.

* The horses of Achilles mourned the death of his friend Patroclus with dishevelled manes, (Iliad, lib. xxiii. l. 283). Admetus, upon the death of Alcestis, commanded his chariot horses to be shorn:—

> Τεθριππα τε ζευγνυσθε, και μοναμπυκας
> Πωλους σιδερω τεμνετ' αυχενων φοβην.
>
> *Eurip. Alcest.* 428.

> 'My chariot horses too my grief shall share,
> Let them be shorn, cut off their comely manes.

The people of Thessaly cut off their own hair, and their horses' manes, at the death of Pelopidas. When Masistius was slain in a skirmish with the Athenians, the Persians shaved themselves, their horses, and their mules.

drink water. But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily to God.'*

To sit in sackcloth and ashes, was a frequent expression of mourning in the oriental regions; and persons overwhelmed with grief, and unable to sustain the weight of their calamities, often threw themselves upon the earth, and rolled in the dust; and the more dirty the ground was, the better it served to defile them, and to express their sorrow and dejection.† [The inveteracy of oriental habits is seen in few things more strongly than in the circumstance of men and women still literally clothing themselves, in time of mourning, with sackcloth and ashes. Mr Salt describes a lady of rank whom he visited, and who was naturally handsome, as seen to great disadvantage, at the time of his visit, in consequence of the family being in deep mourning; it being usual on such occasions, he adds, to disfigure the person as much as possible, in proof of the sincerity of their grief. This lady was covered with sackcloth, and was sprinkled over with ashes. Buckhardt tells us, that he saw the female relations of a deceased chief, running through all the principal streets, their bodies

* Jonah iii. 6, 7, 8.

† Thus Æneas mourned the death of his son Meleager:

'Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fœdat humi fusos, spatiosumque increpat ævum.'
Ovid. Met. lib. viii. l. 528.

'His hoary head and furrowed cheeks besmears
With noisome dirt, and chides the tedious years.'

When Achilles received the news of his friend Patroclus' death, he cast himself on the ground, and with furious hands spread the ashes upon his head, tore his garments, and rolled himself in the dust, lamenting his departed friend with loud screams (Iliad, lib. xviii. l. 23; et lib. xix. l. 5.) And aged Priam lamented the fall of Hector in the same manner:—

Αλλ' αιει σεναχω, και κηδεα μυρια πεσσω,
Αυλης εν χορτοισι κυλινδομενος κατα κοπρον.
Il. lib. xxiv. l. 640.

'Sleep has never closed these eyes, from the time my son lost his life under thy hands; but without ceasing, I groan and ruminate on my innumerable sorrows, weltering in the mire.'

half naked, and the little clothing they had on being rags; while the head, the face, and breast, being almost entirely covered with ashes, they had a most ghastly appearance.*]

In this way, Tamar signified her distress, after being dishonoured by Amnon:—'She put ashes on her head.' And when Mordecai understood that the doom of his nation was sealed, he 'rent his clothes, and put on sackcloth with ashes.' Our Lord alludes to the same custom, in that denunciation:—'Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago, in sackcloth and ashes.'† [On the death of an individual, the nearest relatives rent their clothes, sometimes from head to foot; at other times, only a few inches on the breast-flap of the outer coat. Neighbours, or other spectators, who happened to be in the house at the occurrence of the decease, tore only a handbreadth of their dress, on the left side.‡]

Intimately connected with this, is the custom of putting dust upon the head. When the armies of Israel were defeated before Ai, 'Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads.' And Hushai came to meet his sovereign, when he fled before Absalom, with his coat rent, and dust upon his head.§ The mourner sometimes laid his hands upon his head; for the prophet, expostulating with his people, predicts their humiliation in these words:—'Yea; thou shalt

* Researches in Egypt, p. 431.

† Matt. xi. 21. [Sometimes, however, they contented themselves with *sitting on a piece* of sackcloth, which is alluded to by Isaiah in his description of the fast of the hypocrite, lviii. 5.]—*Editor.*

‡ Great reluctance is frequently exhibited to comply with this practice when the dress happens to be a new or a costly one. In that case the rending is carefully made at the seams, which, when the days of mourning are ended, are neatly sewed up again.—*Ed.*

§ Morier's Trav. vol. i. p. 59. The same custom prevailed in Greece from the earliest times. Odyss. lib. xxiv. l. 315.

go forth from him, and thine hands upon thine head ; for the Lord hath rejected thy confidences, and thou shalt not prosper in them.'* In both these cases, the head of the mourner was uncovered ; but they sometimes adopted the opposite custom, and covered their heads in great distress, or when they were loaded with disgrace and infamy. When Darius was informed that his queen was dead, and that she had suffered no violence from Alexander, he covered his head and wept a long while ; and then throwing off the garment that covered him, gave God thanks for Alexander's moderation and justice. This custom was of great antiquity in Persia ; for when Haman's plot against Mordecai was defeated, he is said to have 'hasted to his house mourning, and having his head covered.'† The Jews are represented by Jeremiah as being 'ashamed and confounded, and covering their heads' in the time of a grievous famine ;‡ and when David received the tiddings of Absalom's death, 'he covered his face, and cried with a loud voice.' That this was a common expression of extreme distress, appears from a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel, where the sorrows of captive Israel are foretold, under the type of a mourner :— 'Thou shalt cover thy face that thou see not the ground ; for I have set thee for a sign unto the house of Israel.'§ It seems, indeed, to be a natural expression of grief or shame, and to have been accordingly practised among all nations. Thus Demosthenes, being on a particular occasion hissed by the people, went home with his head covered. Ulysses wrapped his face in his large purple robe, and wept bitterly, when the musician celebrated in song the valorous deeds of the Greeks before Troy when he had not been present.‖

* Jer. ii. 37. † Esth. vi. 12. ‡ Jer. xiv. 3.

§ Ezekiel was commanded to bind the tire of his head upon him, the reason of which was, that owing to his long residence in Assyria, where turbans were worn, his ordinary head covering had been laid aside.—*Editor.*

‖ Odyssey, lib. viii. l. 83, 92.

The heathen nations adored their deities with covered heads, except Saturn and Hercules, whose solemnities were celebrated with heads unveiled; and the Jews, in worshipping the true God, covered their heads, from a spirit of bondage and fear. These are probably the reasons that the apostle thus expresses himself to the Corinthians :—'Every man praying, or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head.'*

To cover the lips was a very ancient sign of mourning; and it continues to be practised among the Jews of Barbary to this day.† When they return from the grave to the house of the deceased, the chief mourner receives them with his jaws tied up with a linen cloth, in imitation of the manner in which the face of the dead is covered; and by this the mourner is said to testify that he was ready to die for his friend. Muffled in this way, the mourner goes for seven days, during which the rest of his friends come twice every twenty-four hours to pray with him. This allusion is perhaps involved in the charge which Ezekiel received when his wife died, to abstain from the customary forms of mourning :—'Forbear to cry; make no mourning for the dead; bind the tire of thy head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet, and *cover not thy lips*, and eat not the bread of men.'‡ The law of Moses required a leper to have his clothes rent, his head bare, and a covering upon his upper lip, because he was considered as a dead man, 'of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb.'§

Sitting on the ground was a posture which denoted severe distress. Thus the prophet represents the elders of Israel, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the captivity of those whom the sword had spared :—'The elders of the daughters of Zion sit upon the ground, and keep silence; they have cast up dust upon their

* 1 Cor. xi. 4.
† Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 8, 9.
‡ Ezek. xxiv. 17. § Num. xii. 12

heads; they have girded themselves with sackcloth; the virgins of Jerusalem hang down their heads to the ground.'* Judea is represented by a woman on several coins of Vespasian and Titus, in this very posture of sorrow and captivity, sitting on the ground. The Jews lamented their dispersion, by the rivers of Babylon, in the same mournful posture:—'By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept, when we remembered thee, O Zion.'† But what is more remarkable, we find Judea under the figure of a sorrowful woman sitting on the ground, in a passage of the prophet, where the same calamity, recorded on the medals of these Roman emperors, is foretold:—'And she being desolate, shall sit upon the ground.'‡

Oriental mourners often proceeded to great excesses, beating their breasts and thighs, tearing their flesh, and making furrows in their faces with their nails.§ These signs of grief, although sometimes exhibited by men, were more frequent among females, whose passions are more violent and unmanageable.‖ To smite upon the breast was a very common sign of penitential sorrow.¶ ['In front of the palace,' says Mr Morier, in a passage already referred to, 'a circle of the king's own tribe were standing bare-footed, and beating their breasts in cadence to the chaunting of one who stood in the centre, and with whom they now and then

* Lam. ii. 10. † Psalm cxxxvii. 1.

‡ Isaiah iii. 26. [Sitting solitary and in silence on the bare ground is a posture so characteristic of grief, that numbers of women are seen in every oriental grave-yard, assuming this position on the tombs of their deceased relatives. It is the attitude in which the modern Hebrews go to mourn over the dilapidated stones of Jerusalem.]—*Editor.*

§ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 203.

‖ In this manner Anna bewails her sister Dido's death:

'Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,
Unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora palmis.'

Æn. lib. iv. l. 673.

¶ In the Odyssey, 'Smiting upon his breast, he began to chide his heart.'

joined their voices in chorus. Smiting the breast is an universal act throughout the mourning, and the breast is made bare for that purpose, by unbuttoning the top of the shirt.' *] Thus, in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, the latter 'would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful unto me a sinner.'

Significant of the same kind of sorrow was the custom, not less ancient, of smiting upon the thigh. This is mentioned as a circumstance which attended the repentance of Ephraim:—'Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh: I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because I did bear the reproach of my youth.' † But it was not in every instance an expression of penitential sorrow; for we learn from Xenophon, that Cyrus smote upon his thigh when he received the news of the death of his generous friend Abradates.‡

Another very singular method of expressing sorrow, was by burning brimstone in the house of the deceased. Livy mentions this practice as general among the Romans;§ and some commentators think it is referred to in these words of Bildad:—'Brimstone shall be scattered upon his habitation.' || The idea corresponds with the design of the speaker, which is to describe the miserable end of the hypocrite.

Chardin informs us, that when the king of Persia dies, his physicians and astrologers lose their places, and are excluded from the court; the first, because they could not cure their sovereign, and the last, because they did not give previous notice of his death. This whimsical custom, he supposes, has descended to modern times from a very remote antiquity; and was probably the true reason of Daniel's absence when Bel-

* Morier's Travels, vol. ii. p. 59. † Jer. xxxi. 19.
‡ Cyrop. lib. vi. p. 408. Hesiod. Scutum Herc. l. 243.
§ Lib. xxx. c. 15.
|| Job xviii. 15. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 230.

shazzar saw the hand writing on the wall that announced his doom. If the conjecture of that intelligent traveller be well founded, the venerable prophet had been forced, by the established etiquette of the court, to retire from the management of public affairs at the death of Nebuchadnezzar: and had remained in a private station for twenty-three years, neglected or forgotten, till the awful occurrence of that memorable night rendered his assistance necessary, and brought him again into public notice. This accounts in a very satisfactory manner, as well for the ignorance of that dissolute and thoughtless monarch, as for the recollection of Nitocris the queen-mother, who had long known his character and abilities during the reign of her husband. The thought is at least ingenious, and furnishes the best solution of a difficulty which otherwise it is not easy to remove.*

The funeral obsequies of an oriental were concluded by a feast, according to the rank and wealth of surviving relations. Chardin was present at many of those funeral banquets among the Armenian Christians in Persia. [All who are in respectable circumstances entertain their friends for three, four, or seven days, and sometimes even for so long a period as a month. These funeral feasts are often provided at the expense, and honoured with the presence, of the chief mourner, who, in regaling his relations and friends, prepares of course, according to the immemorial usage of the East, separate rooms for the accommodation of the men and women. Wealthy families slaughter a cow, with which the whole neighbourhood, as well as the immediate relatives, are entertained. On one of those occasions, Burckhardt met several women with plates upon their heads, who had just been receiving their share of the meat from a house where a Nubian prince had died. Such a scale of liberality, however, is only attainable by people of consequence.

* Daniel v. 11-16. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 89.

The common people content themselves with a sheep or a goat, the flesh of which is distributed to all around; while the poorer class divide pieces of bread only at the grave.] To the custom of providing a funeral feast the prophet Jeremiah refers in these words :—'Neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink, for their sister or for their mother. Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and to drink.'* In the seventh verse, the prophet speaks of the provisions which relations and acquaintances usually sent to the house of their departed friend ; and of those healths which were drunk to the survivors of the family. In Barbary, when a person dies, the neighbours, relations, and friends, send bread to the house of mourning, which the prophet Ezekiel calls 'the bread of men.'† It was supposed the family were so depressed by the loss of their relation, as to be unable to think of their necessary food. Those who sent the provisions made a visit to their sorrowful and bereaved friends after the funeral, to comfort them and assist at the entertainment, which was given in honour of the dead. In allusion to this custom, the prophet Jeremiah received this charge :—'Thus saith the Lord, enter not into the house of mourning, neither go to lament, nor bemoan them ; for I have taken away my peace from this people, saith the Lord.' When all the people, therefore, came to cause David to eat meat while it was yet day, after the funeral of Abner, it was in strict compliance with the general custom of the country. The same observation applies to the circumstance mentioned in the gospel of John, that 'many of the Jews came to Martha and Mary to comfort them.'‡

Chardin informs us, that 'it is usual in the East to leave a relation of a person deceased to weep and mourn, till, on the third or fourth day at farthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he

* Jer. xvi. 7, 8. † Ezek. xxiv. 17. ‡ John xi. 19.

having before thrown himself upon the ground.' The surprise of David's servants who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, was excited by his doing that himself which it was customary for the friends of mourners to do for them.*

The oriental mourner was distinguished by the slovenliness of his dress. He suffered the hair of his head, if not cut or plucked off in the excess of his grief, to hang dishevelled upon the shoulders ; he neither trimmed his beard, nor washed his feet, even in the hottest weather ; he did not wash his shirt, nor any of the linen he wore. During the whole time of mourning, he refused to change his clothes. In this state of total negligence, it appears that David mourned for his infant son ; for after he learned from his attendants that the child was dead, the inspired historian observes, ' Then David arose from the earth, and washed and anointed himself, and changed his apparel.'†

The time of mourning for the dead was longer or shorter, according to the dignity of the person. Among the modern Jews, the usual time is seven days, during which they shut themselves up in their houses ; or if some extraordinary occasion forces them to appear in public, it is *without shoes*, as a token they have lost a dear friend. This explains the reason why Ezekiel, when commanded to abstain from the rites of mourning, was directed to put his shoes on his feet.‡

It was a custom among the Jews to visit the sepulchres of their deceased friends three days ;§ for so long they supposed their spirits hovered about them ; but

* Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 495.

† On returning from the grave, none spoke until, after the lapse of a considerable time, the principal mourner broke silence; hence the silence of Job's friends on their coming to comfort him.—*Editor.*

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 240.

§ The third day their grief rose to its utmost height; the next four days were called days of lamentation. When our Lord visited the sisters of Lazarus the first of the four lamentation days had begun.—*Editor.*

when once they perceived their visage begin to change, as it would in that time in those warm countries, all hopes of a return to life were then at an end. After a revolution of humours, which, according to some authors, is completed in three days, the body tends naturally to putrefaction; and by consequence, Martha had reason to say, that her brother's body, which appears by the context to have been laid in the sepulchre on the same day he died, was now on the fourth day become offensive. But it appears from an incident in the same narrative, that in Judea they were accustomed to visit the grave of their deceased relations after the third day, merely to lament their loss, and give vent to their grief. If this had not been a common practice, the people that came to comfort the sisters of Lazarus, would not so readily have concluded, when Mary went hastily out to meet her Saviour:—'She goeth to the grave to weep there.' The Turkish women continue to follow this custom; they go before sunrising on Friday, the stated day of their worship, to the grave of the deceased, where, with many tears and lamentations, they sprinkle their monuments with water and flowers. The Persians also visit the sepulchres of their principal imams or prelates; and the Mohammedans in Hindostan follow the same practice, which they probably learned from their neighbours the Persians, going to the grave, and lamenting their departed friends ten days after their decease.* The Syrian women also proceed in companies on certain days to the tombs of their relations, which are built at a little distance from their towns, to weep there; and, on these occasions, they commonly indulge in the deepest expressions of grief.† When Le Bruin was at Rama, he saw a very great company of these mourning women going out of the town to weep at the tombs. He followed them, and seated himself on an

* Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 269, 270.

† Russel's History of Aleppo, vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

elevated spot, adjacent to their sepulchres, near the place where they made their usual lamentations. They first went and placed themselves on the tombs, and wept there; after remaining about half an hour, some of them rose up and formed a ring, holding each other by the hands. Quickly two of them quitted the others, and took their station in the centre of the ring, where they made so much noise in screaming and clapping their hands, as, together with their various contortions, might, in the opinion of the traveller, have subjected them to the suspicion of insanity. After that they returned, and seated themselves to weep again, till they gradually withdrew to their homes. The dresses they wore were such as they generally used, white, or any other colour; but when they rose up to form a circle together, they put on a black veil over the upper parts of their persons. Such, it may be concluded, was the weeping at Ramah, described in the prophecies of Jeremiah:—'A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.'*

In other parts of Palestine and Syria, the friends and relations of the deceased went occasionally to the chambers or cupolas, which were built over the graves, to meditate on their loss, and indulge their grief in those remote and solemn retirements. This seems to have been a very general custom, and to have found its way into countries very distant from the land of promise. Humboldt records a curious and interesting fact of his discovering in the empire of Mexico, one or two of these sepulchral monuments, with a chamber over the grave, in the fashion of the East;† a circumstance which countenances the idea, that the Mexicans came originally from Asia, where that mode of constructing se-

* Jer. xxxi. 15. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 31.

† Political Essay, &c. vol. ii. pp. 192, 193. See also his Historical Account.

pulchres prevailed. The ancient Hebrews had an idolatrous custom of going among the tombs, to receive dreams, by which they endeavoured to form a judgment of events, and how to manage their affairs; for the prophet Isaiah charges them with remaining among the graves, and lodging in the monuments; which is rendered by the Seventy, sleeping in the tombs upon the account of dreams: and it is reasonable to believe, that the sepulchre of Moses was designedly concealed, lest in future times it should become the scene of superstitious veneration, or gross idolatry.

Oil is now presented in the East, to be burnt in honour of the dead, whom they reverence with a religious kind of homage. Mr Harmer thinks it most natural to suppose, that the prophet Hosea refers to a similar practice, when he upbraids the Israelites with carrying oil into Egypt. They did not carry it thither in the way of lawful commerce; for they carried it to Tyre without reproof, to barter it for other goods. It was not sent as a present to the king of Egypt; for the Jewish people endeavoured to gain the friendship of foreign potentates with gold and silver. It was not exacted as a tribute; for when the king of Egypt dethroned Jehoahaz the king of Judah, and imposed a fine upon the people, he did not appoint them to pay so much oil, but so much silver and gold. But if they burnt oil in those early times in honour of their idols, and their departed friends, and the Jews sent it into Egypt with that intention, it is no wonder the prophet so severely reproaches them for ther conduct. Oil is in modern times very often presented to the objects of religious veneration in Barbary and Egypt. The Algerines, according to Pitts, when they are in the mouth of the straits, throw a bundle of wax candles, together with a pot of oil, overboard, as a present to the marabout or saint who lies entombed there, on the Barbary shore, near the sea.*

* Travels, pp. 17, 18,

The custom of putting tears into the *ampullæ* or *urnæ lachrymales*, so well known among the Romans, seems to have been more anciently in use in Asia, and particularly among the Hebrews. These lachrymal urns were of different materials, some of glass, some of earth, and of various forms and shapes. One went about to each person in the company, at the height of his grief, with a piece of cotton in his hand, with which he carefully collected the falling tears, and which he then squeezed into the bottle, preserving them with the greatest care.* They were placed on the sepulchres of the deceased as a memorial of the affection and sorrow of their surviving relations and friends. It will be difficult to account, on any other supposition, for the following expressions of the Psalmist:—'Put thou my tears into thy bottle.'† If this view be admitted, the meaning will be:—'Let my distress, and the tears I shed in consequence of it, be ever before thee.'‡

The kings and princes of the oriental regions, are often subjected to trial after their decease by their insulted and oppressed people, and punished according to the degree of their delinquency. While the chosen people of God were accustomed to honour, in a particular manner, the memory of those kings who had reigned over them with justice and clemency, they took care to stamp some mark of posthumous disgrace upon those who had left the world under their disapprobation. The sepulchres of the Jewish kings were at Jerusalem; where, in some appointed receptacle, the remains of their princes were deposited; and from

* Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 177, *et seq.* † Psalm lvi. 8.

‡ Most of the modern tombs about Jerusalem have the round stile, or head-stone, carved at top into the form of a palmetto leaf, or a number of groves radiating from the centre. This is said to be for the purpose of catching the plenteous tears of the widows, who resort thither to weep over their husbands. In this respect they bear some analogy to the lachrymatories of the ancients.—*Wilde*, vol. ii. p. 375.—*Editor.*

the circumstance of these being the cemetery for successive rulers, it was said when one died and was buried there, that he was gathered to his fathers. But several instances occur in the history of the house of David, in which, on various accounts, they were denied the honour of being entombed with their ancestors, and were deposited in some other place in Jerusalem. To mark, perhaps, a greater degree of censure, they were taken to a small distance from Jerusalem, and laid in a private tomb. Uzziah, who had, by his presumptuous attempt to seize the office of the priesthood, which was reserved by an express law for the house of Aaron, provoked the wrath of heaven, and been punished for his temerity with a loathsome and incurable disease, 'was buried with his fathers in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper.'* It was undoubtedly with a design to make a suitable impression on the mind of the reigning monarch, to guard him against the abuse of his power, and teach him respect for the feelings and sentiments of that people for whose benefit chiefly he was raised to the throne, that such a stigma was fixed upon the dust of his offending predecessors. He was, in this manner, restrained from evil, and excited to good, according as he was fearful of being execrated, or desirous of being honoured after his decease. This public mark of infamy was accordingly put on the conduct of Ahaz:—'They buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem, but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel.'†

The Egyptians had a custom, in some measure similar to this, only it extended to persons of every rank and condition. As soon as a man died, he was ordered to be brought to trial; the public accuser was heard; if he proved that the deceased had led a bad life, his memory was condemned, and he was deprived of the honours of sepulture. Thus were the Egyptians af-

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 23. † 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.

fected by laws which extended even beyond the grave; and every one, struck with the disgrace inflicted on the dead person, was afraid to reflect dishonour on his own memory, and that of his family. But what was singular, the sovereign himself was not exempted from this public inquest when he died. The whole kingdom was interested in the lives and administration of their sovereigns; and as death terminated all their actions, it was then deemed for the welfare of the community that they should suffer an impartial scrutiny, by a public trial, as well as the meanest of their subjects. In consequence of this solemn investigation, some of them were not ranked among the honoured dead, and consequently were deprived of public burial. The custom was singular; the effect must have been powerful and influential. The most haughty despot, who might trample on laws human and divine in his life, saw by this rigorous inquiry, that at death he also should be doomed to infamy and execration.* 'What degree of conformity,' says Mr Burder, 'there was between the practice of the Israelites and the Egyptians, and with whom the custom first originated, may be difficult to ascertain and decide; but the latter appears to be founded on the same principle as that of the former; and as it is more circumstantially detailed, affords us an agreeable explanation of a rite but slightly mentioned in the Scriptures.' [The Egyptians observed another practice relating to their dead, of a very different, and less useful and honourable, character than this. In common with many other nations of antiquity they reckoned the manes of their departed friends among the *Dii minorum gentium*, and, accordingly, on the anniversaries of their death, and sometimes at their religious festivals, they had a mummy, or a mock corpse, brought in and shown to their guests, on the appearance of which they poured out libations,

* Franklin's Hist. of Ancient and Modern Egypt, vol. i. p. 374. See also Diodorus Sic. lib. i. cap. 72, vol. i. p. 84.

and invoked them with sacrifices. The device was resorted to as an incentive to debauchery; and it was this impious and horrid revelry to which the Psalmist alludes, when, describing the idolatrous propensities of the Israelites, he says, 'they joined themselves unto Baalpeor, and ate the sacrifices of the dead.'*]

* Colonel Tod's Annals of Rajast'han.

CHAPTER X.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN PALESTINE AND THE EAST.

[In the simplicity of patriarchal times, when people, though living in towns and villages, for the most part pursued the occupation of shepherds, or lived on the produce of their own small acres, the *gate* through which they passed and repassed every morning and evening, to and from the scene of their daily labours, was the place of general rendezvous, where not only business was transacted, markets held, contracts entered into, and the venerable elders of the place mingled in familiar intercourse with the younger citizens, but where the king or governor himself repaired to discharge the royal office of dealing out law and equity to his subjects. No stately edifices then raised their fronts, as the temples of justice, and had, within the recesses of their well guarded and solemn halls, processes carried on, and verdicts pronounced, affecting the highest interests of life and property. The unsophisticated manners of the people required neither the aids of art, nor the trappings of office, to awe them into submission, and ensure their compliance; and the proceedings were generally distinguished by a simplicity similar to the habits and occupations out of which the causes arose. In the open air, beneath the shade of a spreading tree, —more frequently within a spacious recess, or an unwalled building resting on pillars, at the gate sat the king or chief magistrate, uniting in his own person

both legislative and judicial functions, to hear complaints, redress grievances, make conveyance of titles and estates, and in short, perform all the duties connected with the administration of justice. With the exception, perhaps, of a secretary, and one or two of the patriarchs of the place, who might occasionally give the benefit of their experience, there was no one asked or required to share with the monarch the responsibility of the verdict, as his word was law, and from his sentence there was no appeal. In this ancient style, kings and governors are found deciding causes that are brought before them in those places of the East where the simplicity of primitive manners still prevails. At the foot of Mount Tabor, the Arabs assemble every Monday, not only to hold a bazaar and dispose of their merchandize, but to wait upon the governor of Tabaria,* in whose jurisdiction the place is, and who, either in person or by deputy, attends for the dispensation. There is no village at the place, and the meeting is held in the open plain, and the simple tribunal erected beneath the lofty canopy of a palm-tree.† While in Kurreechane, a city about twelve or thirteen hundred miles up from the Cape of Good Hope, I was told, says Mr Campbell, 'that a cause was going to be brought before the king. Being anxious to witness it, I was led in haste to the *gate*, where I saw the king sit down at the right side of it, with his secretary on his right hand, and the prosecutor or complainer on his left, who stated his case across to the secretary. During his narrating his case, the king was looking about as if not attending to what was said; but I saw from his eye, that he was attending to what, for form's sake, was addressed to the secretary. When the party had finished what he had to say, the secretary repeated the whole to the king, as if he had been entirely ignorant of the matter. The king immediately gave judgment.'‡

* Ancient Tiberias. † Monro's Sum. Resear. in Syria, vol. i. p. 299.
‡ African Light, p. 62.

Many allusions are made in Scripture to this primitive custom. Deborah dwelt under a *palm-tree*, between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim; and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment.* 'If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the *gate* of this place.'† 'Absalom rose up early, and stood beneath the way of the *gate;* and it was so, that when any man that had a controversy came to the king for judgment, then Absalom called unto him, and said, Of what city art thou? and he said, Thy servant is one of the tribes of Israel. And Absalom said unto him, See thy matters are good and right; but there is no man deputed of the king to hear thee.'‡ 'Then the king arose and sat in the gate. And they told unto all the people, saying, Behold, the king doth sit in the gate. And all the people came before the king; for Israel had fled, every man to his tent.'§

[The thrones or tribunals on which kings and judges sat at the gate, were at first, and for a long succession of ages, always of stone, like those huge blocks which are called Druidical. 'Such,' says Dr Clarke,‖ 'was the origin of the Grecian Bema, or stone tribunal, and of the set thrones of judgment mentioned in Scripture as the places on which the dispensers of justice were elevated.¶ In after ages, however, particularly in the height of Roman grandeur, the magistrates of that empire, following the example of Sylla, sat, while administering justice, on an elevated platform, as conspicuous for its splendour and elaborate workmanship, as those of the Grecian and Hebrew judges were for their natural and artless simplicity. The floor of this

* Judges iv. 5. † Deut. xxi. 18, 19. ‡ 2 Sam. xv. 2, 3.
§ 2 Sam. xix. 8. See also Ruth iv. 1-11. Zech. viii. 16.
‖ Travels, vol. v. p. 175,
¶ Psalm cxxii. 5.

stage was completely covered by a rich purple cloth, hanging down the sides in graceful drapery ; and over this superb carpet, on the spot occupied by the governor's throne, was a layer of marble or variegated stones, cut into square or triangular pieces, and so tastefully disposed and dove-tailed, that when the chequer-work was completed, it presented the appearance of a tesselated pavement, of the utmost grandeur and elegance. The Roman governors, who, in the time of the emperors, partook of the prevailing taste for magnificence and show, regarded this chequer-work as so indispensable an accompaniment of their rank, that they transported the materials for their erection into the provinces ; and as it was always early in the morning that their assizes were held, they took care to choose such a position, that the rays of the orient sun falling upon them, might set them off to the best advantage, and by the increased brilliancy of their tribunal, command the admiration and awe of the spectators.* Such was ' the judgment-seat, in a place called the Pavement,' that Pilate ascended when he brought forth Jesus from examination in a private hall, and whence this partial and irresolute judge, in his anxiety to humour the caprice of an infuriated mob,

* Although, as we have said, kings and judges anciently sat on a tribunal of stone, when dispensing justice at the gate, they had elsewhere floors of surpassing splendour to rest upon, and so nearly resembling those tesselated pavements of the Roman magistrates, that we are tempted to insert the following description of the most splendid floor known in Egypt in the days of Moses. They were formed of painted tiles, of a blue or sapphire colour ; and Le Bruyn tells us, that the mosque at Jerusalem is almost all covered over with green and blue bricks, which are glazed ; so that when the sun shines, the eye is perfectly dazzled. But as these tiles are not transparent, Moses, in order to describe the pavement under the feet of the God of Israel with due majesty, represents it as like the floors of painted tile he had seen in Egypt, but transparent as the body of heaven :—' They saw the God of Israel, and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in its clearness.' Exod. xxiv. 10. Le Bruyn, tom. ii.—*Editor.*

pronounced the sentence of death on the most innocent sufferer the world ever saw.*

[The forms of process observed at such tribunals were as simple as the generality of causes brought up for decision. As there were no counsel to perplex with the subtleties of legal argument, or dazzle the mind with a formidable array of analogous cases raked up from the dust of ancient parchments, the judges were left to take the plainest and most straightforward way to attain the ends of substantial justice. Common sense, natural equity, or traditionary custom, was the rule by which they were influenced in their decisions; and while, based on these sound and intelligible principles, their verdict could seldom be far from the right, they often, in acting upon them, displayed their knowledge of human nature, by resorting to stratagems and devices, which to us appear strange and grotesque. The well known case of the two harlots, where Solomon discovered, by a pretended appeal to the sword, the real mother from the impostor, is by no means a solitary instance in the annals of oriental jurisprudence, of such a curious mode of decision; and were it not for swelling our pages, it would be easy to adduce an entertaining variety of parallel cases. One must suffice :—Ariophanes, king of Thrace, being appointed to arbitrate between three young men, each claiming to be the son of the Cimmerians, discovered the real son by ordering each to shoot an arrow into the dead body of him they called their father. Two of the claimants obeyed without hesitation, but the third refused; upon which the arbitrator judged him to be the genuine prince.

* At the Damascus gate of Jerusalem,—the side of the city where the Roman governors generally erected their tribunals, 'fragments of polished marble are often picked up among the excavated ruins, and especially the small cubes of marble, of different colours, not much larger than dice, which were employed in the construction of the ancient tesselated pavements.'—*Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. i. p. 353.—*Editor.*

[An equally strange instance of the way in which justice is often perverted in the East, occurs in our Lord's parable of the unjust steward :—' So he called every one of his lord's debtors unto him, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord? and he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? and he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write four-score.'* In eastern countries at the present day, transactions of this fraudulent description are far from being uncommon. ' Your Sirkar's deputy,' says a speaker in a book of popular Dialogues, illustrating Indian manners, ' whilst his master was gone to Calcutta, established a court of justice. Having searched for a good many debtors and their creditors, he learned the account of their bonds. He then made an agreement with them, to get the bonds out of the bondsmen's hands for half the debt, if they would give him one-fourth. Thus every debtor, for one hundred rupees, having given fifty to the creditor, and twenty-five to this knave, got his bond for seventy-five rupees. Having seized and flogged one hundred and twenty-bond-holders, he has in this manner determined their bonds, and he has done this business in your name.' †]

In the East, the right of calling an offender to account is claimed either by the person who receives the injury, or his nearest relation ; and the same person, with the permission or connivance of his people, sustains at once the character of party, judge, and executioner.‡ In such a state of things, we are not to be surprised if the exercise of justice be often precipitate and tumultuary. The act of the Philistines, in burning the spouse of Samson and her father with fire, was entirely of this

* Luke xvi. 1. † Hadly's Hindostan Dialogues.

‡ Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii. p. 452. Volney's Travels, vol. i. p. 307.

character; not the result of a regular sentence, but the summary vengeance of an incensed multitude.* In the law of Moses, the right of the private avenger was distinctly recognized; but to prevent the dreadful effects of sudden and personal vengeance, cities of refuge were appointed at convenient distances through the land of promise, to which the manslayer might flee for safety, till he could be brought to a regular trial, before a court of justice.

[The custom of goelism, that is, of the nearest kinsman avenging the blood of a murdered relative, was, like many other traditionary observances in the early history of the world, partly the dictate of nature, and partly the result of necessity. Wherever men congregated, even in small numbers, it was obviously essential to the existence of society, that measures should be adopted for the safety and protection of every individual belonging to it; and, in primitive times, when there was no fixed government, nor written law—when no authority was recognised but the will of the father of a family or chief of a tribe, and men were held together by the bonds of a common family alliance, the strong impulse of natural affection was sufficient to serve for the redress of injuries and the infliction of suitable revenge. The eldest, on whom devolved the honours and privileges of the family, or the heir-at-law, became the natural protector of all connected with it, and the enemy of those who shed their blood. In the event of his absence, or inability from age and sickness, the nearest of kin partook of the same natural feelings; and thus a train of sentiment and a course of conduct, which nature inspired, became, in the absence of written or established law, the rule by which the relatives were guided in regard to those, whose hands were imbrued in the blood of a dear and valued friend. To avenge his death was not only the natural desire,—it became the imperative duty, of the person who stood in the

* Judges xv. 6.

nearest relationship to the unfortunate deceased ; and from being a duty, it came to be reckoned a debt of honour,—to fail in discharging which, stamped indelible infamy on the name of the unworthy and cold-hearted kinsman. Among people where goelism prevails, no labour is avoided, no sacrifices grudged, yea, the heaviest expenses are willingly incurred, and long toilsome journeys performed, in order to discover the hiding place, or surprise the person of the assassin ; and some have been known, amid many disappointments, to persevere for years, till they at length succeeded in fulfilling the painful obligation of obtaining satisfaction for the blood that had been shed. Niebuhr relates the story of an Arabian he met with, who had carried about with him, for several years, a dagger, which he meant to plunge into the heart of a person who had killed his friend, and who had always contrived to elude him ; and Michaelis speaks of another Arabian, whose mother studiously concealed from him the fact of his father's murder, to prevent his leaving her to seek the assassin ; but his neighbours upbraiding him with undutifulness, and he coming at last to the knowledge of his parent's fatal end, he set out and travelled over the whole of that extensive country, till at length he got a clue to the murderer, who was working in a sand pit, and, stealing upon him unawares, despatched the object of his long and anxious search. It is only a few years ago, says Sir John Malcolm, that three persons at Abusheher were delivered into the hands of the relatives of those whom they had murdered. The nearest of kin, the children of the deceased, were mere infants, but in their little hands the weapons were put, and with the aid of their relatives, thrust into the fast-bound bodies of the assassins.*

[It was the prevalence of this stern and inviolable custom among the Hebrew tribe, that Rebecca thought of, and that gave all their energy and dreadful mean-

* History of Persia, vol. ii. p. 110.

ing to her hasty words, when, affrighted at the consequences of her unprincipled stratagem, and the ill suppressed threats of Esau, she urged her favourite son to instant flight, adding, 'Why should I be deprived of you both in one day?' The resentment of her much injured first-born afforded too good grounds for serious alarm for the safety of the crafty Jacob; and, in the event of his falling by the hands of his brother, she knew well, that from that moment a sword would be unsheathed, that would never return to its scabbard till it had drunk the life-blood of the wretched fratricide. In Canaan, indeed, at that time, there were no officers of justice to scent the criminal to his hiding-place, and drag him to a trial. Isaac, the chief of the tribe was too old, and also too partial to Esau to excite any fears from that quarter; but the stern law of goelism would have called forth some Ishmaelite, or other descendant of Abraham, whose sleepless vigilance and determined efforts, would, ere long, have rendered Rebecca childless.

[To stop the effusion of blood, the practice is followed in some eastern countries, of accepting pecuniary compensation; and it is left to the option of the avenger whether he will be satisfied with a sum of money as the price of blood, or insist on the death of the offender. But in many places such a compact is unknown; in many instances, such compensation, when offered, has been resolutely refused; and, in the event of a refusal, it is not in the power of any, even of the prince upon the throne, to interfere with the rights of the deceased's representatives, or to throw the shield of his protection over the murderer. A person who travelled in Arabia last year, relates an affecting incident, which happened while he was in that country. A young man of noble blood, in a sudden fit of anger, struck his bosom friend, and death ensued. The sultan offered, from his own purse, about 900 dollars, which is the customary fee of conciliation in such cases,

to save the youth from a public death ; but though the relatives of the deceased were poor, they refused this compensation for a life, and the young man was accordingly put to death.*

[It may easily be supposed, that where people are thus left or authorized to look for redress of injuries, to their own private means of revenge, this law of goelism will often lead to the perpetration of gross acts of injustice in the impulse of lacerated feelings ; and in the first heats of resentment at the murder of a friend or relative, there will be great risk of grievous and lamentable errors being committed ; care will not be taken to distinguish an accidental fatality from what is the result of premeditated malice ; or a perfectly innocent person, whom a train of circumstances may have connected with the scene of the catastrophe, from the real and guilty perpetrator of the crime. To remedy such evils, certain places have had, from time immemorial, the privilege of sanctuaries, within which a murderer, who is fortunate enough to reach them, is safe from all harm, although, were he to step a foot beyond them, it is at his peril. The tombs of distinguished characters have, in all eastern countries, this privilege attached to them. Among the pastoral Arabs, the great pole of their tent is the place of refuge, by laying hold of which, the traveller Bruce once saved himself from imminent danger ; and in Persia, the palace, and especially the stable of the king, are places of inviolable security.† The establishment of some places of retreat is an indispensable provision, where goelism prevails ; but the grand defect is, that, within the privileged walls of these sanctuaries, not only the innocent is protected, but the vilest criminal is sheltered from the

* Narrative of a Voyage in the East India Squadron, under Commodore G. Reid. Moses forbade compensation for blood.—*Editor.*

† The harem, the forbidden retreat of women, has sometimes been used as an asylum, but it is solely on account of its secrecy, as there is no privilege belonging to it. It was doubtless this circumstance that led Sisera to seek refuge in the tent of Jael.—*Editor.*

hands of justice. The Hebrew law-giver, in adopting goelism, with its attendant usages into his code of laws, introduced a vast improvement in the erection of sanctuaries with limited privileges. He ordained six cities —three on each side Jordan, so situated, as to be easily reached from every part of Judea by plain and well-kept roads, within the walls of which, every one who took refuge, was secure beyond the reach of harm. But the great superiority of the Mosaic statute consisted in this —that the fugitive to these free cities was screened in the meantime only from the impetuous vengeance of the blood-avenger, and was, after a time, brought out to establish, by a calm and impartial investigation, his innocence or guilt; the law thus happily consulting the interests of humanity, while, at the same time, it provided for the ends of justice. In a densely peopled country, like that of Judea, cases of unintentional homicide would be frequently occurring; and one can easily imagine the breathless haste with which, on the occurrence of such a fatal event, the unhappy man would remove to a distance from the spot; and how he would strain every nerve, especially if the avenger of blood were at his heels, to get within reach of the nearest sanctuary. The impetuous flight of a defencelsss person, pursued by an enemy with sword in hand, the prodigious exertions he would make to keep at a safe distance before him, and the ecstacy with which he would grasp the wall, the gate, the first stone of the privileged city, are embodied in that striking metaphor of the apostle to the Hebrews, where he is describing believers in Christ 'as those who have fled for refuge to the hope set before them in the Gospel.']

In almost every part of Asia, those who demand justice against a criminal throw dust upon him, signifying that he deserves to lose his life, and be cast into the grave; and that this is the true interpretation of the action, is evident from an imprecation in common use among the Turks and Persians:—'Be covered with earth; Earth be upon thy head.' We have two re-

markable instances of casting dust recorded in Scripture: the first is that of Shimei, who gave vent to his secret hostility to David, when he fled before his rebellious son, by throwing stones at him, and casting dust.* It was an ancient custom, in those warm and arid countries, to lay the dust before a person of distinction, and particularly before kings and princes, by sprinkling the ground with water.† To throw dust into the air while a person was passing, was therefore an act of great disrespect; to do so before a sovereign prince, an indecent outrage. But it is clear from the explanation of the custom, that Shimei meant more than disrespect and outrage to the afflicted king, whose subject he was; he intended to signify by that action, that David was unfit to live, and that the time was at last arrived to offer him a sacrifice to the ambition and vengeance of the house of Saul. This view of his conduct is confirmed by the behaviour of the Jews to the apostle Paul, when they seized him in the temple, and had nearly succeeded in putting him to death; they cried out,—'Away with such a fellow from the earth, for it is not fit that he should live; and as they cried out and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle.'‡ A great similarity appears between the conduct of the Jews on this occasion, and the behaviour of the peasants in Persia, when they go to court to complain of the governors, whose oppression they can no longer endure. 'They carry their complaints against their governors by companies, consisting of several hundreds, and sometimes of a thousand; they repair to that gate of the palace nearest to which their prince is most likely to be, where they set themselves to make the most horrid cries, tearing their garments, and throwing dust into the air, at the same time demanding justice. The king, upon hearing these cries,

* 2 Sam. xvi. 13.
† Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 17.
‡ Acts xxii. 22, 24.

sends to know the occasion of them : the people deliver their complaint in writing, upon which he lets them know that he will commit the cognizance of the affair to such an one as he names ; in consequence of this, justice is usually obtained.'*

Those who were summoned before the courts of justice were said to be προγεγραμμενοι εις κρισιν, because they were cited to appear, by posting up their names in some public place ; and the judgment of the court was published or declared in writing. Such persons the Romans called *proscripti* or proscribed, that is, whose names were posted up in writing, in some public place, as persons doomed to die, with a reward offered to any that should kill them. These are the terms which the apostle Jude applies to the ungodly, who had crept unawares into the church ; they were before of old, προγεγραμμενοι, ordained to this condemnation ; persons, who must not only give an account of their crimes to God, but are proscribed or destined to the punishment which they deserve. In Persia, malefactors were not allowed to look on the king ; this was the reason why, as soon as Haman was considered a criminal, they covered his face. From Pococke, we find the custom still continues, for speaking of the artifice by which an Egyptian bey was taken off, he says : —'A man being brought before him like a malefactor just taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and *a napkin put over his head*, as malefactors commonly have, when he came into his presence, suddenly shot him dead.'†

The Persians smote the criminals who attempted to speak in their own defence with a shoe, the heel of which was shod with iron ; which is quite characteristic of the eastern manners as described in the sacred

* Chardin's Travels, vol. ii. p. 222. Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. i. ob. 503. Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 417; and vol. iii. pp. 367, 368.

† Trav. ol. i. p. 179. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 68.

volume. The shoe was also considered as vile, and never allowed to enter sacred or respected places ; and to be smitten with it, is to be subjected to the last ignominy. Paul was smitten on the mouth by the orders of Ananias ; and the warmth with which the apostle resented the injury, shows his deep sense of the dishonour :—'Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall : for sittest thou to judge me after the law ; and commandest me to be smitten contrary to law ?'*

It was the custom among the Jews for the judge to sit on a trial, and those who were judged to stand, especially while the court were examining the witnesses. The station of the accused was in an eminent place in the court, that the people might see them, and hear what was alleged against them, and the proofs of it, together with the defence made by the criminals. This explains the reason of the remark, by the evangelist Matthew, concerning the posture of our Lord at his trial :—'Jesus stood before the governor ;' and that, in a mock trial, many ages before the birth of Christ, in which some attention was also paid to public forms, Naboth was 'set on high among the people.'† The accusers and the witnesses also stood, unless they were allowed to sit by the indulgence of the judges, when they stated the accusation, or gave their testimony. To this custom of the accusers rising from their seats, when called by the court to read the indictment, our Lord alludes in his answer to the scribes and Pharisees, who expressed a wish to see him perform some miracle :—'The queen of the south shall *rise* up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it.'‡ According to this rule, which seems to have been invariably observed, the Jews who accused the apostle Paul, at the bar of Festus the Roman governor, 'stood round about,' while they stated the crimes which they

* Acts xxiii. 2. Morier's Trav. vol. i. p. 95, note.
† 1 Kings xxi. 9. In Hebrew, 'On the top of the people.' ‡ Matt. xii. 42

had to lay to his charge.* They were compelled to stand as well as the prisoner, by the established usage of the courts of justice in the East.† The Romans often put criminals to the rack, or endeavoured to extort a confession from them by torture. Agreeably to this cruel and unjust custom, 'the chief captain commanded Paul to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging.'‡

It was usual, especially among the Romans, when a man was charged with a capital crime, and during his arraignment, to let down his hair, suffer his beard to grow long, to wear filthy ragged garments, and appear in a very dirty and sordid habit; on account of which he was called *sordidatus*. When the person accused was brought into court to be tried, even his near relations, friends, and acquaintances, before the court voted, appeared with dishevelled hair, and clothed with garments foul and out of fashion, weeping, crying, and deprecating punishment. The accused sometimes appeared before the judges clothed in black, and his head covered with dust. In allusion to this ancient custom, the prophet Zechariah represents Joshua, the high priest, when he appeared before the Lord, and Satan stood at his right hand to accuse him, as clothed with filthy garments.§ After the cause was carefully examined, and all parties impartially heard, the public crier, by command of the presiding magistrate, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict. The most ancient way of giving sentence was by white and black sea shells, or pebbles. This custom has been mentioned by Ovid in these lines:—

> 'Mos erat antiquus, niveis atrisque lapillis;
> His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.

'It was a custom among the ancients, to give their votes by white or black stones; with these they condemned the guilty, with those acquitted the innocent.'

* Acts xxv. 7. † Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 68.
‡ Acts xxii. 24. Burder *in loc.* § Zech. iii. 3.

In allusion to this ancient custom, our Lord promises to give the spiritual conqueror a 'white stone; and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it;'* the white stone of absolution or approbation, and inseparably connected with it, a new name of dignity and honour, even that of a child of God and heir of glory, which is known only to himself, or the inhabitants of that world to which he shall be admitted, and who have already received it.

When sentence of condemnation was pronounced, if the case was capital, the witnesses put their hands on the head of the criminal, and said,—Thy blood be upon thine own head.† To this custom the Jews alluded, when they cried out at the trial of Christ,—'His blood be on us, and on our children.' Then was the malefacter led to execution, and none were allowed openly to lament his misfortune. His hands were secured with cords, and his feet with fetters; a custom which furnished David with an affecting allusion, in his lamentation over the dust of Abner:—'Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put in fetters.'‡

Executions in the East are often very prompt and arbitrary. In many cases the suspicion is no sooner entertained, or the cause of offence given, than the fatal order is issued; the messenger of death hurries to the unsuspecting victim, shows his warrant, and executes his orders that instant, in silence and solitude. Instances of this kind are continually occurring in the Turkish and Persian histories. 'When the enemies of a great man among the Turks have gained influence

* Rev. ii. 17. [It has been shown in an earlier part of this work, that the 'white stone' refers not to the pebbles used on trials, but to the *tesseræ hospitales.—Editor.*

† Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 71. 'From two remarkable expressions in Homer and Sophocles, it appears that the blood which was found upon the sword was wiped on the head of the slain: an intimation that his own blood shall be upon the head of the deceased, and the living were free from it. "His blood shall be upon his head" is a common expression in Scripture.'—*Forbes' Oriental Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 222.

‡ 2 Samuel iii. 34.

enough over the prince to procure a warrant for his death, a capidgi (the name of the officer who executes these orders), is sent to him, who shows him the order he has received to carry back his head: the other takes the warrant of the grand signior, kisses it, puts it on his head in token of respect, and then having performed his ablutions, and said his prayers, freely resigns his life. The capidgi having strangled him, cuts off his head, and brings it to Constantinople. The grand signior's order is implicitly obeyed: the servants of the victim never attempt to hinder the executioner, although these capidgis come very often with few or no attendants.'* It appears from the writings of Chardin, that the nobility and grandees of Persia are put to death in a manner equally silent, hasty, and unobstructed.† Such executions were not uncommon among the Jews under the government of their kings. Solomon sent Benaiah as his capidgi, or executioner, to put Adonijah, a prince of his own family, to death; and Joab, the commander in chief of the forces in the reign of his father. A capidgi likewise beheaded John the Baptist in prison, and carried his head to the court of Herod. To such silent and hasty executioners the royal preacher seems to refer in that proverb:—'The wrath of a king is as messengers of death; but a wise man will pacify it;'‡ his displeasure exposes the unhappy offender to immediate death, and may fill the unsuspecting bosom with terror and dismay, like the appearance of a capidgi; but by wise and prudent conduct, a man may sometimes escape the danger.

From the dreadful promptitude with which Benaiah executed the commands of Solomon on Adonijah and Joab, it may be concluded that the executioner of the court was as little ceremonious, and the ancient Jews

* Harmer's Observ. vol. iii. p. 373. Thevenot, part i. chap. 46.

† In Hindostan, punishment of all offences is exacted immediately after conviction. Orme's Hist. of Military Trans. vol. iv. p. 451.

‡ Proverbs xvi. 14.

nearly as passive, as the Turks or Persians. The prophet Elisha is the only person on the inspired record, who ventured to resist the bloody mandate of the sovereign; the incident is recorded in these terms:—'But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and the king sent a man from before him; but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, see how this son of a murderer has sent to take away mine head. Look when the messenger cometh; shut the door, and hold him fast at the door,—is not the sound of his master's feet behind him?'* But if such mandates had not been too common among the Jews, and in general submitted to without resistance, Jehoram had scarcely ventured to despatch a single messenger to take away the life of so eminent a person as Elisha. [The dreadful promptitude and profound secrecy in which the great crime of executing the Baptist was perpetrated, is quite in the style of oriental despots; and such is the abject submission with which their subjects are taught to regard every token of their sovereign's authority and will, that noble as well as slave, when a death-warrant is carried to them, will kiss the fatal document, raise it to their heads in token of respect, and often bow their neck without a murmur to the sword of the executioner. This awful despatch is equalled only by the revolting barbarity with which many eastern princes have feasted their eyes with the gory head of their fallen enemies. We are shocked at the unfeeling conduct of these two princesses of Palestine, who derived a malignant gratification from the hideous spectacle of the Baptist's head, exhibited, like some work of art, or curious relic, upon an elegant salver. But, strange and disgusting as this action was, it has had, unfortunately, too many parallels in contemporary and eastern history, to warrant our branding their memories with indelible infamy, as if they were the only disgrace to their sex, and the only monsters to whom the sight of

* 2 Kings vi. 32.

flesh was a luxury. Fulvia, the wife of the elegant and voluptuous Antony, when the head of Cicero, the inflexible opponent of that triumvir, was brought to his house, derived the highest enjoyment from heaping every day some fresh indignities on the unconscious enemy, continually pulling out the tongue which had so often invoked the most eloquent invectives against her unprincipled husband, and piercing it with a bodkin. Seljook, king of Persia, in a fit of intoxication, ordered one of his slaves to strike off the head of his queen. The cruel mandate was obeyed, and the head of the beautiful but ambitious princess was presented in a golden charger to her drunken husband, as he sat carousing with his dissolute companions.* Shah Sefi, another and more modern sovereign of the same country, having resolved to rid himself of a certain governor and his three sons, of whose popular influence he was jealous, invited them to a grand entertainment at court. He declined, on account of age and infirmities, but his three sons accepted the invitation, and on a signal made by the treacherous prince, while they were seated at their wine, a band of armed men rushed into the chamber, cut off the heads of the unsuspecting guests, and having laid them on a golden platter, presented them as an acceptable present to the king. Such instances of savage cruelty and malignant gratification, at receiving the mangled remains of an enemy, with which the history of all eastern countries unfortunately too much abounds, shew that Herodias and her daughter, however hardened by profligacy, and goaded on by the spirit of fell revenge, have been equalled in their inhuman enjoyments by many of the same exalted rank in oriental countries.]

Criminals were at other times executed in public; and then, commonly without the city. To such executions without the gate, the Psalmist undoubtedly refers in this complaint:—'The dead bodies of thy servants

* Malcolm's Persia, vol. i. p. 389.

have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven; the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them.'* The last clause admits of two senses. 1st, There was no friend or relation left to bury them. 2d, None were allowed to perform this last office. The despotism of eastern princes often proceeds to a degree of extravagance which is apt to fill the mind with astonishment and horror. It has been thought, from time immemorial, highly criminal to bury those who had lost their lives by the hand of an executioner, without permission. In Morocco, no person dares to bury the body of a malefactor without an order from the emperor; and Windus, who visited that country, speaking of a man who was sawn in two, informs us, that 'his body must have remained to be eaten by the dogs, if the emperor had not pardoned him; an extravagant custom to pardon a man after he is dead; but unless he does so, no person dares bury the body.'† To such a degree of savage barbarity, it is probable, the enemies of God's people carried their opposition, that no person dared to bury the dead bodies of their innocent victims.

In ancient times, persons of the highest rank and station were employed to execute the sentence of the law. They had not then, as we have at present, public executioners; but the prince laid his commands on any of his courtiers whom he chose, and probably selected the person for whom he had the greatest favour. Gideon commanded Jether, his eldest son, to execute his sentence on the kings of Midian; the king of Israel ordered the footmen who stood around him, and were probably a chosen body of soldiers for the defence of his person, to put to death the priests of the Lord; and when they refused, Doeg, an Edomite, one of his principal officers. Long after the days of Saul, the reigning monarch commanded Benaiah, the chief captain of his

* Psalm lxxix. 2, 3. † Journey to Mequinez, p. 157.

armies, to perform that duty. Sometimes the chief magistrate executed the sentence of the law with his own hands; for when Jether shrunk from the duty which his father required, Gideon, at that time the supreme magistrate in Israel, did not hesitate to do it himself; and Samuel, with his own hands, hewed in pieces Agag, king of the Amalekites.* In these times such a command would be reckoned equally barbarous and unbecoming; but the ideas which were entertained in those primitive ages of honour and propriety, were in many respects extremely different from ours. In Homer, the exasperated Ulysses commanded his son Telemachus to put to death the suitors of Penelope, which was immediately done.† The custom of employing persons of high rank to execute the sentence of the law is still retained in the principality of Senaar, where the public executioner is one of the principal nobility; and, by virtue of his office, resides in the royal palace.‡

The trial by ordeal is well known in eastern countries, and was appointed by God himself in the law of Moses in cases of jealousy:—'The priest shall bring her near, and set her before the Lord; and the priest shall take holy water in an earthen vessel; and of the dust that is in the floor of the tabernacle, the priest shall take and put it into the water, and give her to drink.'§ Among the Hindoos, trials by ordeal are frequent, and conducted in many different ways, of which, one strikingly resembles the Jewish ordeal by the water of jealousy. Trial by the cosha is thus described in the Asiatic Researches:—'The accused is made to drink three draughts of the water, in which the images of the sun, of Devi, and other deities, have been washed for that purpose; and if within fourteen days he has any sickness or indisposition, his crime is considered as proved.'‖

* 1 Sam. xv. 33.
† Odyssey, lib. x. l. 465.
‡ Bruce's Travels, vol. vi. p. 372.
§ Numb. v. 16.
‖ Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 389.

When the accused person was convicted of the crime laid to his charge, he was subjected to a capital or arbitrary punishment, according to the nature of his offence. One of the most common punishments in use among the Jews, was stoning, which appears to have been a most grievous and terrible infliction :—'When the criminal arrived within four cubits of the place of execution, he was stripped naked, only leaving a covering before ; and his hands being bound, he was led up to the fatal spot, which was an eminence about twice the height of a man. The first executioners of the sentence were the witnesses, who generally pulled off their clothes for that purpose : one of them threw him down with great violence upon his loins ; if he rolled upon his breast, he was turned upon his loins again ; and if he died by the fall, the sentence of the law was executed ; but if not, the other witness took a great stone and dashed it on his breast as he lay upon his back ; and then, if he was not despatched, all the people that stood by threw stones at him till he died.' * Lapidation was also a common punishment in Greece,† and was usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks on those that were taken in adultery, as we learn from the third Iliad, where Hector tells Paris, that for all his villanies he should be stoned to death :—

Λαινον εσσο χιτωνα, κακων ενεψ, οσσα εοργας.

Il. lib. iii. l. 57.

The capital punishment next in severity, was burning. 'They set the malefactor in dung up to the knees, and then tied a towel about his neck, which was drawn by the two witnesses, till they made his mouth gape, into which they poured melted lead down his throat, which consumed his bowels. This was called by the Jews, the burning of the soul ; but as the same word is used to signify the burning of combustible matter which is cast into the fire, it is supposed that such a method was

* Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. pp. 74, 76.

† Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 135.

sometimes practised, which is called by the Jews the burning of the body, and was probably the death to which the patriarch Judah condemned Tamar his daughter-in-law :—'Bring her forth, and let her be burnt.' *

Others were condemned to be slain with the sword, which was by decapitation, executed in the manner used in modern times. Such was the punishment which David inflicted on the Amalekite, for putting Saul to death. It seems also to be the usual punishment in Abyssinia, for taking away the life of a king ; for Socinos, an Abyssinian monarch, being informed that one Mahardin, a Moor, had been the first to break through that respect due to a king, by wounding Za Denghel, his predecessor, at the battle of Bartcho, ordered him to be brought at noonday before the gate of his palace, and his head to be then struck off with an axe, as a just atonement for violated majesty.†

The punishment of strangling, as described by the Jewish writers, resembled the Turkish punishment of the bow-string, rather than the present mode of executing by the gibbet. The offender was placed up to the loins in dung, and a napkin was twisted about his neck, and drawn hard by the witnesses, till he was dead.

Those who had committed great and notorious offences, and who deserved to be made public examples, were hanged upon a tree, after they had actually suffered the death to which they were condemned ; which shows that this punishment was not the same with the Roman crucifixion, in which the malefactors were nailed to the gibbet, and left to expire by slow and excruciating torments. The Hebrew custom was no more than hanging up their bodies after they were dead, and exposing them for some time to open shame. For this purpose, a piece of timber was fixed in the

* Gen. xxxviii. 24. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 76.

† Bruce's Travels, vol. ii. p. 262, Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 77.

ground, out of which came a beam, to which the hands of the sufferer were tied, so that his body hung in the posture of a person on the cross. When the sun set, the body was taken down; for the law says, 'He that is hanged on a tree, is accursed of God;' not that the criminal was accursed because he was hanged, but he was hanged because he was accursed.* [Hanging, however, to produce death, seems to have been one of the earliest forms of capital punishment, if we may judge from the notice of it that occurs in the history of Joseph, when the unfortunate end of the chief baker is recorded in such a manner as to convey the impression, that it was a customary mode of executing criminals in Egypt.†]

In the time of execution, they gave the malefactor a grain of frankincense in a cup of wine, in order to stupify and render him less sensible of pain. This custom is traced to the charge of the wise man:—'Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts.'‡ The prophet makes an allusion to the powerful effects of this stupifying draught, in that prediction which announces the judgments of God upon the empire of Babylon:—

* Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 75.

† Gen. xl. 22. The phrase, 'lift up thine head,' which is applied both to the butler and baker (verse 13-19), may with more propriety be rendered 'reckon thine head,' the meaning of which will be at once perceived by the following extract:—'The ancients in keeping their reckonings, or accounts of time, or their list of domestic officers or servants, made use of tables with holes bored in them, in which they put a sort of pegs, or nails, with broad heads, exhibiting the particulars, either number or name, or whatever it was. These nails the Jews called heads, and the sockets of the heads they call *bases*. The meaning, therefore, of Pharoah's *lifting up his head*, is, that Pharoah would take out the peg, which had the cup-bearer's name on the top of it, to read it, *i. e.* would sit in judgment and make examination of his accounts, for it seems probable that both he and the baker had been either suspected or accused of having cheated the king, and that, when the accounts were examined, the one was acquitted, while the other was found guilty.'—*Editor.*

‡ Proverbs xxxi. 6. Lewis Origines Hebrææ, vol. i. p. 72.

'Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them.'* Hence the Jews, according to the custom of their country, gave our Lord wine mingled with myrrh at his crucifixion; but, besides the medicated draught, in derision of his kingly character, they offered him vinegar mingled with gall, instead of sweet wine, which was the drink of oriental sovereigns. The first cup might seem to indicate some degree of compassion in his enemies, but the next was a cruel insult to the unoffending sufferer. [This custom of administering to condemned malefactors a cup of wine, strongly adulterated with poisonous ingredients, was common among the Greeks, who called a vessel containing such a deleterious potion, the cup of indignation, and administered it to the wretched criminals, not only with the view of securing their death, but embittering their last moments with the most intense sufferings. That people borrowed the practice from the East, where from an early age it had obtained, insomuch that it became a proverbial saying, introduced into the familiar conversation, as well as used in the highly figurative poetry of the orientals, that one will make his enemy drink of the cup of his indignation. This metaphor the Hebrew prophets have pressed into the service of religion; for in several passages both of the Old and New Testaments, they represent Jehovah, when about to visit the infidel or persecuting enemies of his cause with severe dispensations, as bearing in his hand a cupful of wine in which there is an infusion of powerful and deadly poison. In the prophetic book of the Revelations, especially, this image is employed with sublime effect, to portray the terrible overthrow of the mystical Babylon, who, as an impious and profligate woman, is made 'to drink of the wine of the cup of God's indignation.'†]

* Jer. xxv. 15, 16. † Rev. xiv. 10.

But, besides these capital punishments that were inflicted by the Jews according to their law, the sacred writers allude to several kinds of death to which malefactors were condemned in Syria and the circumjacent countries, of which the laws of Moses take no notice. One of these was the punishment of drowning, which was frequently imposed by the ancient Syrians. The criminal had a heavy weight put about his neck, or was rolled up in a sheet of lead, and cast into a river, or into the sea. Such is the account which our Lord himself gives of this punishment:—'But whoso shall offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.'* [From the appearance of the huge millstones used in this country, the mind of the reader naturally startles at the idea of such a mode of capital punishment, and is ready to conclude that one of these ponderous weights, suspended from the neck, would so speedily accomplish the work of destruction, as to render the subsequent act of despatching the criminal by drowning, a work of supererogation. But the stones belonging to eastern hand mills, which are round, though a little flattened on one side, while the lower one has a small hole in it, through which the flour escapes, and neither of which exceeds a foot in diameter, easily admit, from their small size, of being attached to the neck, and at the same time add so much to the weight of the body, that its immediate sinking is facilitated and secured. This way of inflicting death was very common in the time of Christ, and many examples are recorded in the histories of the period. Augustus punished some of his ministers for having taken the opportunity of his being laid aside by sickness, to oppress the province of Syria, by throwing them into a river, with heavy weights about their necks; and it may be observed, that drowning by a stone bound to the neck, is a capital punish-

* Matthew xviii. 6.

ment still resorted to in some countries of the East. It was a sudden and certain destruction; and therefore our Lord alludes to it, when describing the heinous criminality, and the inevitable misery, of the man who should, by fraud or menace, attempt to undermine the faith, or seduce from his allegiance the heart, of one sincere and humble disciple of the Saviour :—'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.' *]

In his prediction relative to the destruction of the temple, in another part of the same gospel, he makes an allusion to the horrible punishment of cutting a living criminal asunder, which, according to some writers, was sometimes inflicted in Judea, and, in particular, suffered by the prophet Isaiah, under the bloody reign of Manasseh :—'The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites.' † Many instances occur in ancient writers, of this method of executing criminals; and from Dr Shaw and other modern travellers we learn, that it is still in use among some nations, particularly the western Moors in Barbary.‡ It is thought to have come originally from Persia or Chaldea; and it certainly corresponds with the barbarous dispositions which those bitter and hasty nations too much indulged. Calmet informs us, that, not many years ago, the Swiss executed this terrible punishment in the plain of Grenelles, near Paris, on one of their own countrymen, who had been guilty of a great crime. They put him into a coffin and sawed him at length, beginning at the head, as a piece of wood is sawn. Parisates, the king of Persia, caused

* Hartley's Researches. Suetonius' Life of August. Shaw's Travels. Matt. xviii. 6.

† Matt. xxiv. 50, 51. ‡ Shaw's Travels, vol. i. pp. 456, 457.

Roxana to be sawn in two alive.* According to Windus, the same dreadful punishment is often inflicted in Morocco, where the criminal is put between two boards, and sawn from the head downwards till the body falls in two pieces. The laws of the twelve tables, which the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, condemned certain malefactors to the punishment of the saw; but the execution of it was so rare, that, according to Aulus Gellius, none remembered to have seen it practised. But in the time of Caligula the emperor, many people of rank and fortune were condemned to be sawn in two through the middle.† [Captain Light mentions another instance, which we give in his own words:—'Djezzar, he who so successfully opposed Bonaparte at the siege of Acre in 1801, had reason to suspect fraud in the conduct of some of the officers of his seraglio; and as he could not discover the offenders, he had between fifty and sixty of them seized, stripped naked and laid on the ground; and to each placed a couple of janisaries, who were ordered to hew them in pieces with their swords.'‡]

The Greeks and Romans condemned some of their criminals to be cast down from the top of a rock.§ In the time of Pitts, the inhabitants of Constantine, a town in Turkey, built on the summit of a great rock, commonly executed their criminals who had been guilty of more atrocious crimes, by casting them headlong from the cliff.‖ This punishment Amaziah the king of Judah inflicted on ten thousand Edomites whom he had taken captive in war:—'Other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them to the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, and they were all broken in pieces.'¶ [The same practice is alluded to by the Psalmist, where he speaks of judges being

* Journey to Mequinez, p. 157. † Suetonius, lib. iv. sec. 26.
‡ Trav. in Syria, p. 194. § Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 134.
‖ Trav. p. 10. ¶ 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

overthrown in stony places, or, as it may be rendered, 'thrown down by the sides of the rock.'*]

Pounding in a mortar is a punishment still used among the Turks. The Ulemats, or body of lawyers, in Turkey, are by law secured in two important privileges—they cannot lose their goods by confiscation, nor can they be put to death except by the pestle and mortar.† The guards of the towers who suffered prince Coreskie to escape from prison, were, some of them impaled, and others pounded or beaten to pieces in great mortars of iron, by orders of the Turkish government. This dreadful punishment appears to have been occasionally imposed by the Jewish rulers, for Solomon clearly alludes to it in one of his Proverbs:—'Though thou shouldst bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him.'‡ [This is a striking figure introduced to show the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, by any ordinary or human means, of eradicating sin from a wicked heart. Husks may be separated, corn and rice may be beaten to powder in a mortar; but no remonstrances, however strong; no arguments, however oft repeated; no afflictions, however severe, can cure a hardened and impious profligate of his folly and wretchedness.]

The head, the hands, and the feet of state criminals, were often cut off, and fixed up in the most public places, as a warning to others. This shocking custom is not unknown in the criminal proceeding of countries which lie at a great distance from Palestine. It may be traced up to a very remote antiquity, for the sacred historian informs us, that David commanded the hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who treacherously murdered Ishbosheth, to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of Hebron.§

Another mode of capital punishment, to which the

* Psalm cxli. 6.
† Du Tott's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 65.
‡ Proverbs xxvii. 22.
§ 2 Sam. iv. 12.

inspired writers refer, is crucifixion. It was used in Greece, but not so frequently as at Rome. It consisted of two beams, one of which is placed across the other, in a form nearly resembling the letter T, but with this difference, that the transverse beam was fixed a little below the top of the straight one. When a person was crucified, he was nailed to the cross as it lay upon the ground, his feet to the upright, and his hands to each side of the transverse beam; it was then erected, and the foot of it thrust with violence into a hole prepared in the ground to receive it. By this means, the body, whose whole weight hung upon the nails which went through the hands and feet, was completely disjointed, and the sufferer expired by slow and agonizing torments.* This kind of death, the most cruel, shameful, and accursed that could be devised, was used by the Romans only for slaves, and the basest of the people. The malefactors were crucified naked, that is, without their upper garments; for it does not appear they were stripped of all their clothes; and we know that an oriental was said to be naked, when he had parted with his upper garments, which were loosely bound about him with a girdle.

The miserable wretches that were fastened to the cross, often lived long in that dreadful condition; some are said to have lingered three days, and others nine. Eusebius speaks of certain martyrs in Egypt, that hung upon the cross till they were starved to death. Sometimes the malefactors were devoured by birds and beasts of prey; and after death, they were generally cast out in the open field, to become the prey of every devourer. To prevent the relations of the criminals or others, from taking them down and burying them, a guard was placed around the cross. A guard of Roman soldiers was accordingly stationed round the cross of Jesus, to watch him both before and after he died; for it appears from the inspired narrative, that Joseph

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 134.

of Arimathea durst not take down the sacred body of his Lord, till he had obtained permission from the Roman goveror.

It was the custom to crucify without the walls of their cities, on some eminence, or on the top of a mountain. Hence our Lord was led away to be crucified without the gate, on the top of Calvary, a mount in the neighbourhood of the city, which for that reason was chosen as the common place of execution. He 'went forth bearing his cross,' which, according to Plutarch, every person that suffered crucifixion was compelled to do. Among other instances of ignominy and suffering which accompanied the death of Christ, it is written, they plaited a crown of thorns, and put it upon his head. In the opinion of Hasselquist, the naba or nabka of the Arabians, is in all probability the tree which furnished that instrument of insult and cruelty. It grows in great abundance in various parts of the East, and is well fitted for the purpose, being armed with many small and sharp spines, that, when applied with violence to the head, must produce exquisite pain. The crown might easily be made of the soft, round, and pliant branches of this thorny plant; and what he considers as the strongest proof is, the leaves much resemble those of ivy, in the darkness of their colour, called among botanists '*spina christi*.' The cruel and malicious enemies of the Saviour would probably choose a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and victorious generals were usually crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment. Others are of opinion, that it was the acacia, or white thorn, or the juncus marinus; but after all, the matter must be left indeterminate.*

Another species of capital punishment, which serves to illustrate the sacred text, is the pit into which the condemned persons were precipitated. The Athenians, and particularly the tribe Hippothoontis, frequently

* Hasselquist's Travels, p. 288.

condemned offenders to the pit. It was a dark noisome hole, and had sharp spikes at the top, that no criminal might escape, and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment those unhappy persons that were cast in.

Similar to this place, was the Lacedæmonian Καιαδας, into which Aristomenes the Messenian being cast, made his escape in a very surprising manner.* This mode of punishment is of great antiquity; for the speakers in the book of Job make several allusions to it. Thus, in the speech of Elihu :—'He keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword.' . . 'Then is he gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit; I have found a ransom.' . . . 'He will deliver his soul from going down into the pit, and his life shall see the light.'† The allusions in the book of Psalms are numerous and interesting; thus, the Psalmist prays, 'Be not silent to me; lest, if thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit.' . . . 'Let them be cast into deep pits, that they rise not up again.'‡ The following allusion occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah :—'The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail.'§

Among the Romans, criminals were sometimes burnt alive; and to increase their torment, they were dressed in a tunic besmeared with pitch, and other combustible matter. The holy Psalmist seems to allude to this kind of death in his prayer for deliverance from his enemies :—'Let burning coals fall upon them; let them be cast into the fire.' And Jehovah encourages his afflicted people with this gracious promise :—'When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt.'‖ This punishment was probably borrowed

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 135.
† Job xxxiii. 18, 24, 28. See also Jeremiah xxxviii. 6.
‡ Psalm xxviii. 1; and xl. 2. § Isaiah li. 14.
‖ Isaiah xliii. 2.

from the Assyrians, among whom it seems to have been very common; a striking instance of which occurs in the story of the three children, who were cast by the command of Nebuchadnezzar into the fiery furnace.*

Criminals were sometimes hewed in pieces, and their mangled bodies given as a prey to ravenous beasts. This punishment seems to have been extremely common in Abyssinia when Mr Bruce was there, and was probably handed down from the founders of that kingdom:—'Coming across the market place,' says the traveller, 'I had seen Za Mariam, the Ras's doorkeeper, with three men bound, one of whom he fell *a hacking to pieces* in my presence; and upon seeing me running across the place, stopping my nose, he called me to stay till he should despatch the other two, for he wanted to speak with me, as if he had been engaged about ordinary business. The soldiers, in consideration of his haste, immediately fell upon the other two, whose cries were still remaining in my ears. The hyænas at night would scarcely let me pass in the streets, when I returned from the palace; and the dogs fled into my house, to eat pieces of human carcases at their leisure.'† This account elucidates the mode of execution adopted by the prophet Samuel, in relation to Agag, the king of Amalek:—'And Samuel said *(kasher)*, As (or, in the same identical mode) thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.'‡ This was not a sudden and passionate act of vengeance, but a deliberate act of retributive justice. That savage chieftain

* What is mentioned above as one form of capital punishment, differing only in degrees, was in reality two, and these quite different. The one was of Assyrian origin, and consisted solely in being thrown into an immense furnace of fire; the other was a Roman punishment, often inflicted upon the primitive Christians, and consisted of a coat, fitting close on the person, bedaubed all over with pitch, and which being set fire to, occasioned to the unhappy wearer, as may well be imagined, most excruciating pains.—*Editor.*

† Travels, vol. iv. p. 81. ‡ 1 Sam. xv. 33.

had hewed many prisoners to death ; and therefore, by the command of Jehovah the Judge of all the earth, he is visited with the same punishment which he had cruelly used towards others.

But one of the most dreadful punishments which can be inflicted in the torrid zone, is to expose the criminal to perish by thirst.* In the lamentation for Moab, how strongly expressive is the doom of Dibon in which the prophet alludes to this severest visitation :—'Thou daughter that dost inhabit Dibon, come down from thy glory, and sit in thirst.'†

Persons that were guilty of slighter crimes, were subjected to various arbitrary punishments, according to the nature and degree of their offence. The ancient Romans were subjected to a fine, which Livy informs us, at first never exceeded two oxen and thirty sheep ; but it was afterwards increased.‡ By the law of Moses, an offending Israelite was punished with fines, differing in value according to the injury sustained. Thus, the king of Israel, in reply to Nathan's parable of the ewe lamb, declared :—'As the Lord liveth, the man that hath done this thing shall surely die ; and he shall restore the lamb four-fold, because he did this thing, and because he had no pity.'§ This sentence was required by the law of Moses :—'If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it ; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep.'‖ In some instances, the offender was amerced in a large sum of money ; in others, he was only required to restore double.

Bonds were of two kinds, public and private ; the former were employed to secure a prisoner in the public jail, after confession or conviction ; the latter when he was delivered to a magistrate, or even to private persons, to be kept at their houses till he should be tried.

* Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 388.
† Jer. xlviii. 18.
‡ Lib. iv. c. 30.
§ 2 Sam. xii. 5, 6.
‖ Exodus xxii. 1.

The apostle Paul was subjected to private bonds, by Felix the Roman governor, who 'commanded a centurion to keep him, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him.'* And after he was carried prisoner to Rome, he 'dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him.'†

There were two prisons in Jerusalem; of which one was called the king's prison, which had a lofty tower that overlooked the royal palace, with a spacious court before it, where state prisoners were confined. The other was designed to secure debtors and other inferior offenders; and in both these the prisoners were supported by the public on bread and water. Suspected persons were sometimes confined under the custody of state officers, in their own houses; or rather a part of the house which was occupied by the great officers of state, was occasionally converted into a prison. This seems to be a natural conclusion from the statement of the prophet Jeremiah, in which he gives an account of his imprisonment:—'Wherefore, the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison, in the house of Jonathan the scribe; for they had made that the prison.'‡ This custom, so different from the manners of our country, has descended to modern times; for when Chardin visited the East, their prisons were not public buildings erected for that purpose, but, as in the days of the prophet, a part of the house in which their criminal judges resided. 'As the governor, or provost of a town,' says our traveller, 'or the captain of the watch, imprison such as are accused, in their own houses, they set apart a canton of them for that, when they are put into these offices, and choose for the jailor, the most proper person they can find of their domestics.'§ The royal prison in Jerusa-

* Acts xxiv. 23. † Acts xxviii. 30. ‡ Jer. xxxvii. 15.
§ Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 502, 503.

lem, and especially the dungeon, into which the prisoner was let down naked, seems to have been a most dreadful place. The latter cannot be better described than in the words of Jeremiah himself, who, for his faithfulness to God and his country, in a most degenerate age, had to encounter all its horrors :—'Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the dungeon that was in the court of the prison ; and they let him down with cords ; and in the dungeon there was no water, but mire ; and his feet sunk in the mire.'* A discretionary power was given to the keeper, to treat his prisoners as he pleased ; all that was expected of him being only to produce them when required. If he kept them in safe custody, he might treat them well or ill as he chose ; he might put them in irons or not ; shut them up close, or indulge them with greater liberty ; admit their friends and acquaintances to visit them, or suffer no person to see them. The most worthless characters, the most atrocious criminals, if they can bribe the jailor and his servants with large fees, will be lodged in his own apartment, and have the best accommodation it can afford ; but if he be the enemy of those committed to his charge, or have received larger presents from their prosecutors, he will treat them in the most barbarous manner. To illustrate the miserable condition of an oriental prisoner, Chardin relates a story of a wealthy Armenian merchant, who for some reason was thrown into prison. So long as he bribed the jailor with large donations, he was treated with the greatest kindness and attention ; but upon

* Jer. xxxviii. 6. ['This seems to have been an old well, and it is well known that from the earliest times empty cisterns, sometimes with a deep sediment of mud at the bottom, have been used by the orientals as prisons. Several examples are recorded of persons confined for a long time in such horrid places. A grandson of Nadir Shah was immured in a well, first for two, afterwards for three years.'—*Waring's Tour to Sheezeth*, ix. 11. The prophet Zechariah alludes to the circumstance of empty wells being employed by the Jews as prisons :—'I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein no water is ;' ix. 11.]—*Editor.*

the party who sued the Armenian presenting a considerable sum, first to the judge and afterwards to the jailor, the prisoner first experienced a change of treatment. His privileges were retrenched ; he was then closely confined ; then treated with such inhumanity, as not to be permitted to drink but once in twenty-four hours, and this in the hottest time of the year; and no person was suffered to see him but the servants of the prison. At length he was thrown into a dungeon, where he was, in a quarter of an hour, brought to the point which all this severe usage was intended to gain. After such a relation, we cannot be surprised to find the sacred writers placing so strong an emphasis on 'the sighing of the prisoner,' and speaking of its coming before God, and the necessity of almighty power being exerted for his deliverance :—'Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee ; according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die.'*

State criminals are often treated with still greater severity. Besides being forced to submit to a very mean and scanty allowance, they are frequently loaded with clogs, or yokes of heavy wood, in which they cannot either lie or sit at ease. In some of these wooden collars, the head was bowed down, and the neck, hands, and feet, were made fast. A round engine was at other times put about the neck, in such a manner that the sufferer could not lift his hand to his head ; or the feet and legs were secured by ponderous fetters, not unfrequently tortured by distending or dislocating the joints ; or the malefactor was stripped naked, and bound with cords to the rack.† Our Lord makes an allusion to this deplorable condition, in the parable of the wicked servant :—'And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him.'‡ This treatment Paul and

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 502-505. Psa. lxxix. 11.
† Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i. p. 131. ‡ Matt. xviii. 34.

Silas experienced at Philippi ; the Roman magistrates, according to their usual custom, commanded the lictors violently to rend open their clothes, and scourge them with rods ; after their bodies were cruelly lacerated with many stripes, they were thrown into prison, and their feet were made 'fast in the stocks.'* It is generally supposed, that these were the cippi, or large pieces of wood used among the Romans, which not only loaded the legs of prisoners, but sometimes distended them in a very painful manner ; so that it is highly probable, the situation of Paul and Silas here might be made more painful than that of an offender sitting in the stocks, as used among us, especially if (as is very possible), they lay with their bare backs, so lately scourged, on the hard or dirty ground ; which renders their joyful frame, expressed by songs of praise, so much the more remarkable. Beza explains it of the numellæ, in which both the feet and the neck were fastened in the most uneasy posture that can well be imagined.†

Servitude was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced to the condition of a slave. Among the Athenians, it was never inflicted on any except the Ατιμοι, sojourners, and freed servants ; because it was forbidden by one of Solon's laws, that any free-born citizen should be treated as a bond-servant.‡ This law seems to have been derived from the Jewish code ; which, in certain circumstances, permitted an Israelite to be sold, but forbade the purchaser to work him as a slave, or retain him longer than the year of jubilee.§ Theft was one of those crimes (perhaps the only one), for which free-born Israelites, who could not make restitution, might be reduced into a state of servitude ; but if he was able to pay the appointed fine, he was entitled to be set at liberty.'‖

* Acts xvi. 24. † Burder, vol. i. ob. 494.
‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, volume i. p. 130.
§ Leviticus xxv. 39. ‖ Exodus xxii. 3

Scourging was a very common punishment among the Jews. It was inflicted in two ways; with thongs or whips made of ropes or straps of leather; or with rods, twigs, or branches of some tree. The offender was stripped from his shoulders to his middle, and tied by his arms to a low pillar, that his back might be more fully exposed to the lash of the executioner, who stood behind him upon a stone, to have more power over him, and scourged him both on the back and breast, in open court, before the face of his judges. Among the Arabians, the prisoner is placed upright on the ground, with his hands and feet bound together, while the executioner stands before him, and with a short stick strikes him with a smart motion on the outside of his knees. The pain which these strokes produce is exquisitely severe, and which no constitution can support for any length of time. The Romans often inflicted the punishment of the scourge; the instruments employed were sticks or staves, rods, and whips or lashes. The first were almost peculiar to the camp; the last were reserved for slaves, while rods were applied to citizens, till they were removed by the Porcian law.*

The lex talionis, a punishment similar to the injury, is mentioned in the twelve tables: but seems to have been very seldom executed, because by law the removal of it could be purchased by a pecuniary compensation. This most equitable law holds a conspicuous place in the Jewish code; the application of which was made absolute, as will appear from the words in which it is couched:—'And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.'†

[This law of retaliation, which is founded on a principle deeply seated in the human breast, that of inflicting on offenders an exact equivalent for the injuries sustained, has been adopted or tolerated by the early

* Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 272. † Exodus xxi. 23, &c.

lawgivers of every state,—the simplicity and apparent justice of the enactment recommending it as a protection against the unrestrained indulgence of strong passions, by providing that every offence committed upon the person of a fellow-creature shall be atoned for by a strict retaliation on the aggressor. Moses, who found it, in all probability, already existing among the Israelites before their emigration into Canaan, was directed to incorporate it with the other statutes of his judicial code; but, like all the traditionary customs which the Hebrew legislator adopted and sanctioned, it was, in his system, vastly improved by its execution being committed to the judgment and direction of a public magistrate. Left as it was before among other people, to the arbitrary will of the individual, it proved too often an incentive to the gratification of a vindictive and implacable temper; and such is the bad influence which it is found to exercise in those parts of the East, where it is still an acknowledged law of society. A recent traveller mentions having met a person in Persia who had lost one of his limbs in consequence of having accidentally, as he was informed, been the occasion of shattering the leg of another so much that amputation was necessary. Another anecdote may be subjoined, as showing still more strikingly the practical working of this law as it is now acted upon in eastern countries. Mr L., an English merchant, had some years ago an affray with some Moors, who insulted him as he was one day returning from shooting. In the course of the scuffle, which originated in Mr L.'s dog attacking a donkey belonging to the party, the merchant accidently knocked out two teeth from an old woman, who happened to be passing on the way. Complaint was immediately made to the governor of Mogadore, who was obliged to take the gentleman into custody to protect him from the vengeance of the mob. He was eventually sent to the sultan, who was then on the throne of Morocco, a prince of unusually mild

temper and manners. Such is the strictness with which the law on this head is observed, that he was sentenced to have two of his teeth taken out, which was accordingly done. As a mark of especial favour, he was allowed to choose which two teeth he would have condemned.* Instances of the same stern and uncompromising demand for an equivalent for perpetrated wrongs, occur in the course of the Old Testament history. Adoni-bezek, whose barbaric delight it was to see 'three score and ten kings, having their thumbs and great toes cut off, gathering meat under his table,' was condemned to suffer the loss of the same members.† And Samuel, when he acted the part of executioner of Agag, reminded that ruthless Amalekite, that 'as his sword had made women childless in Israel, so should his mother be childless among women.'‡ Who does not see cause to rejoice that, under the enlightened and humanizing influence of Christianity, such cruelties are known amongst us only in the pages of ancient history,—while, at the same time, the authority of mild and impartial law, secures an adequate punishment being awarded on all who trespass on the life or property of the meanest of their fellow men.]

Offenders were sometimes exposed to infamy or public disgrace.§ At Rome this punishment was imposed either by the censors, or by law, and by the edict of the prætor. Those made infamous by a judicial sentence, were deprived of their dignity, and rendered incapable of enjoying places of power and trust; sometimes of being witnesses, or making a testament. In Judea, the punishment of infamy consisted chiefly in cutting off the hair of evil doers; yet it is thought that pain was added to disgrace, and that they tore off the hair with violence, as if they were plucking a bird alive. This is the genuine signification of the Hebrew

* Brooke's Sketches in Spain and Morocco.

† Judges i. 6. ‡ 1 Samuel xv. 33.

§ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 129.

word used by Nehemiah, in describing his conduct towards those Jews who had violated the law by taking strange wives :—'And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and *plucked off* their hair.'* This kind of punishment was common in Persia. King Artaxerxes, instead of plucking off the hair of such of his generals as had been guilty of a fault, obliged them to lay aside the tiara. The emperor Domitian caused the hair and beard of the philosopher Apollonius to be shaved.†

The orientals, in some cases, deprive the criminal of the light of day, by sealing up his eyes. A son of the great Mogul was actually suffering this punishment when Sir Thomas Roe visited the court of Delhi. The hapless youth was cast into prison, and deprived of the light by some adhesive plaster put upon his eyes, for the space of three years ; after which the seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light ; but he was still detained in prison. Other princes have been treated in a different manner, to prevent them from conspiring against the reigning monarch, or meddling with affairs of state ; they have been compelled to swallow opium, and other stupifying drugs, to weaken or benumb their faculties, and render them unfit for business. Influenced by such absurd and cruel policy, Shah Abbas, the celebrated Persian monarch, who died in 1629, ordered a certain quantity of opium to be given every day to his grandson, who was to be his successor, to stupify him, and prevent him from disturbing his government. Such are probably the circumstances alluded to by the prophet :—'They have not known, nor understood : for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see ; and their hearts that they cannot understand.'‡ The verb (*tah*) rendered in our version, to shut, signifies to overlay, to cover over the surface ; thus the king of Israel pre-

* Nehemiah xiii. 25.
† Burder, vol. i. ob. 141.
‡ Isaiah xliv. 18.

pared 'three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of refined silver to overlay the walls of the temple.'* But it generally signifies to overspread, or daub over, as with mortar or plaster, of which Parkhurst quotes a number of examples; a sense which entirely corresponds with the manner in which the eyes of a criminal are sealed up in some parts of the East. The practice of sealing up the eyes, and stupifying a criminal with drugs, seems to have been contemplated by the same prophet in another passage of his book:—'Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and be converted, and be healed.'†

Deprivation of sight was a very common punishment in the East. It was at first the practice to sear the eyes with a hot iron; but a discovery that this was not effectual, led to the cruel method of taking them out altogether with a sharp-pointed instrument. The objects of this barbarity are usually persons who have aspired to the throne, or who are supposed likely to make such an attempt. It is also inflicted on chieftains whom it is desirable to deprive of power without putting them to death; and instances occur where the male inhabitants of a city that have rebelled, are exposed to this punishment, in order to strike terror by a dreadful example.‡ For this reason the hapless Zedekiah was punished with the loss of sight, because he had rebelled against the king of Babylon, and endeavoured to recover the independence of his throne:—'Then he put out the eyes of Zedekiah; and the king of Babylon bound him in chains, and carried him to Babylon, and put him in prison till the day of his

* 1 Chronicles xxix. 4.

† Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 508-510.

‡ Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii. pp. 162, 165, 170, 262, 431, 453.

death.'* [The deprivation of sight is performed sometimes by plastering some strong cement on the eyes, which cannot be removed; at other times by sewing them up, by holding a red-hot iron close before them, by piercing the pupils through with a sharp needle, or the point of a dagger, or by tearing them violently out of the sockets. This horrid punishment of tearing out the eyes is a favourite infliction with the despotic rulers of Persia, where, to give an idea of the wholesale barbarities perpetrated, we may quote the words of Sir John Malcolm, who says, that 'it is no unusual practice for the king to punish a rebellious city or province by exacting so many pounds of eyes, and his executioners accordingly go and scoop out from every person they can lay hold of, till they procure the number required.'† As the king, says another writer, appoints any officers he pleases to that sanguinary service, some persons they seize upon are so butchered by their unskilful hands, that the loss of their lives is frequently the speedy consequence.‡]

The ancients sometimes exposed criminals to a particular species of torture, by means of a tympanum or drum, on which they were extended in the most violent manner, and then beaten with clubs, which must have been attended with exquisite pain. To this mode of punishment, Doddridge is of opinion the apostle alludes in his epistle to the Hebrews, where he describes the sufferings of ancient believers :—'Others were tortured, not accepting deliverance,' because the word ετυμπαινεσθησαν, tortured, is not a general term, but one which signifies the specific torture of the tympanum. It is, however, generally understood by interpreters, not as a mode of punishment distinct from others, but as a general term for all kinds of capital punishment and violent death; but the opinion of Doddridge ought to be preferred, because the original

* Jeremiah lii. 11. † Malcolm's Persia, vol. ii. p. 198.
‡ Thevenot's Travels, vol. ii. p. 98.

word possesses a specific character; and the passage viewed in that light is precise and impressive.*

[A sheep-skin death is another species of punishment peculiar to the orientals, of which the following description is given by one who had seen it :—'The culprit is stripped naked, and a sheep being killed, the warm skin of the animal is immediately stretched to the utmost, and sewed tight over the body of the prisoner, who is then conducted to the flat roof of the prison, and exposed to the fervour of a tropical sun : the skin, contracting by the heat, draws with it the flesh of the agonizing wretch, until putrefaction, hunger, and thirst, terminate his sufferings.'† Another traveller relates an affecting story of a brave and virtuous general, who, on a false accusation by some captive princesses under his care, was doomed to experience a harder fate than Joseph. The caliph of Bagdad, his master, enraged at the alleged crime, ordered him to be sewed up in a raw sheep's hide, and in this plight to be brought into his presence. The innocent victim of malice submitted to the cruel order, and lingered under the tortures of the hardened skin, till the third day put a period to his sufferings.‡ Numbers of the primitive Christians were condemned to this horrid refinement in cruelty ; and the apostle alludes to it in the epistle to the Hebrews, where, enumerating the sufferings of many ancient worthies, who lived and endured their trials by faith, he describes some as having 'wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented.' §]

The apostle to the Hebrews describes some of the ancient worthies as 'tempted,' which, according to Dr Doddridge, refers to that common punishment among oriental princes, of searing with a red-hot iron, or burn-

* Burder's Oriental Customs, vol. i. pp. 381, 382. [It seems to have been the same with what is known in modern times by the name of Bastinado.]—*Editor.*

† Forbes' Oriental Memoirs. ‡ Pottinger's Travels.

§ Hebrews xi. 37.

ing alive ; while others again, suppose the expression points to another equally well known form of punishment in the East,—that of squeezing the criminal by cords drawn with the most painful tightness about the body.

[The details of the preceding pages comprise all the information necessary to be given for the illustration of the Scriptures, respecting the principles and usages connected with the administration of justice in the East ; and had the land of God's ancient people, by continuing independent, retained pure, unmingled, and entire, the oriental character of which, in all its leading features, it partook with the other countries around it, no addition, so far as scriptural allusions demand, would have required to be made to the descriptions the author has afforded of this important branch of their customs. But as, at the period to which the gospel history refers, Judea had become a tributary province of Rome, and the principal actors who figure in the scenes it describes, were on several remarkable occasions brought into contact with the civil and judicial authorities that conducted its affairs, a few notices on the forms of Roman jurisprudence, will form, it is hoped, no impertinent nor uninteresting conclusion to this chapter.

[In the Roman empire, as well as in all civilized and well-regulated states, the strong arm of the law afforded an effectual protection to life and character ; and, moreover, it was one of the boasted and most valued privileges of the meanest individual who enjoyed the status of a Roman citizen, that he could not be condemned until he had passed through a fair and impartial trial. Let his character have been ever so suspicious, and circumstances looked ever so strongly against him, it was at the peril of any magistrate to subject him to the slightest indignity or punishment, before his case had been calmly investigated, and fully established. Although every crime had its correspond-

ing penalty annexed to it, and freeman as well as slave, received the just reward of his deeds, yet it was a fundamental principle of the Roman constitution, that an accused person, previous to conviction, was always looked upon as innocent; and, however heinous the crimes with which he was charged, a public officer who ordered him, untried and uncondemned, to be treated as a felon, would have incurred a responsibility involving his degradation from office, perhaps even the forfeiture of his life. So strictly guarded, indeed, was the important privilege of freemen, that few even of the most tyrannical and flagitious magistrates dared to violate it; and the examples to be found in Roman history of its being unheeded or trampled upon are so rare, the caution of magistrates in ascertaining the political rights of those who were brought before them was habitually so great, that we may hazard the remark, that nothing but gross corruption, or some extraordinary excitement, could have betrayed any into such an unconstitutional and dangerous exercise of authority.

[A striking confirmation of this remark is afforded by the treatment which Paul and Silas met with in Philippi. These zealous servants of Christ having, by the new doctrines they preached, 'occasioned no small stir in that city,' were apprehended as enemies to the established religion; and as the attempt to effect innovations on the religious customs of the people was reckoned a heinous crime at all periods, and especially at that time, on account of some great excesses that had been committed in this part of the empire, at a recent festival of Bacchus; the public mind was in that exciteable state, that a calm and patient investigation of the circumstances could not be expected. Participating in the feelings of the mob, and still more influenced by the partial testimony of the slave-holders, who were breathing nothing but threats and revenge, the magistrates assumed the guilt of Paul and Silas to

be undoubted, and, in an evil hour, commanded the lictors to inflict upon them the scourge,—a step which, on the subsequent discovery of the condition of the accused, threw them into the greatest concern and alarm.

[The scourge, as has already been described, consisted of a bundle of small rods, which were the badge of the magistrates' attendants, and with which, on a signal from the bench, those officials chastised the insolence or the obstinacy of the pannels at their bar. In such cases, the infliction was comparatively light and gentle; but much greater severity was used when, in the progress of trial, it was resorted to as a means of extorting from the lips of accused persons a confession of their guilt. Enlightened as the Romans were in many respects, the character of their criminal code was disgraced by their retaining upon their statute-book the odious and unjust practice of examining by torture, which, in all cases where they met with any difficulty or trouble in arriving at the truth, the magistrates every where ordered to be applied without the least hesitation. It was allowed, however, to be put in force only upon slaves and persons of the humblest condition; and, although in the later and more degenerate times of the empire, several instances do occur of its being inflicted on freemen, yet both the law and practice of Rome had made it peculiarly a servile punishment; and the Philippian magistrates, perceiving by the garb and appearance of Paul and Silas that they were foreigners and Jews, who were not likely to be possessed of the honourable character of citizens, scrupled not at once to proceed against them as low and base-born vagabonds, for whose backs the lictor's scourge was the appropriate punishment.

[No sooner had they learned, however, that these strangers were Roman citizens, than they were thrown into the greatest alarm at the rash and dangerous course they had been pursuing. Their anxiety was

well founded; for there could scarcely be a greater offence committed than that into which they had allowed themselves to be betrayed. In the long catalogue of charges brought against Verres, it was not the least, that that tyrannical and unprincipled governor had, at Messina, ordered a Roman to be whipped, while in the face of the lictor, who was waving the scourge over him, the unfortunate man, almost in the very language of Paul and Silas, protested against the unconstitutional proceeding. It was, in fact, the highest indignity that could be offered to the majesty and honour of the Roman people, even to threaten with the scourge a person who asserted his claim to the privileges of the empire; and, accordingly, that great master of forensic eloquence, Cicero, has made the circumstance of Verres committing this intolerable outrage a subject for one of the most splendid and impassioned bursts of declamation to be found in his orations. 'A Roman citizen, says his judge, was publicly beaten with rods in the market-place of Messina; during this public indecency no groan, no murmur, no other exclamation burst from the lips of the unhappy sufferer amid the barbarities he endured, and the sound of the strokes inflicted on him, but this, "I am a Roman citizen." By this announcement, he imagined that Verres would have stopped; and with any other magistrate, an end would have been immediately put to the cruel and ignominious treatment to which he was subjected.' Then, pressing on the feelings of his hearers the gross unlawfulness of Verres' conduct, the orator breaks out into the following apostrophe to the outraged spirit of the Roman constitution:—'O, the distinguished privilege of Roman freedom! O, Porcian and Sempronian laws! are things at length come to this sad and humiliating pass, that a Roman citizen, in a Roman province, in the most public and open manner, should be beaten with rods!' Such is the testimony of Cicero; various others might be quoted from the works of Latin authors to the same

purport; but we content ourselves with the addition of one. In a play of Terence, one of the speakers in the dialogue thus addresses another:—'If you persist in your mischievous pranks, you shall be torn with the scourge within an inch of your life.' 'What!' is the reply, 'a freeman scourged!' From these passages the reader will have no difficulty in forming an opinion of the grossly unconstitutional proceedings of the Philippian magistrates against Paul and Silas, as well as of the dreadful state of anxiety into which they were thrown, when they came in the attitude of humble suppliants to the very men, who, a little before, had been the objects of their contempt and arbitrary vengeance.

[There was another privilege belonging to Roman citizens, though specially intended for those who resided at a distance from the capital, viz., the power of appealing from the oppressive or unjust sentence of a provincial magistrate directly to the emperor of Rome. The spirit of the Roman constitution was extremely jealous of irresponsible power being vested in the hands of a single individual; and hence, although it was absolutely necessary that governors of provinces should be left very much to the exercise of their discretion, as it was impossible on every emergency that occurred to send home for instructions, many salutary checks were provided to prevent their authority being stretched so far as to encroach on the rights and liberties of the subject; and among those checks, the power of appeal was one, the value of which it was scarcely possible to over-estimate. The personal or local prejudices of some magistrates might bias their opinion, and the venality of others might pollute the course of justice; and in these or similar circumstances, the law of Rome empowered a citizen, who thought himself aggrieved, to transfer his cause to be reviewed at a distance from the scene of the transaction, and by a judge totally free from influences that might be supposed pre-

judicial to a right decision. The appeal was taken verbally to Cæsar, and, whatever might be the opinion or the feelings of the local judge on the announcement of this appeal from his tribunal, he was not only not at liberty to throw any obstacle in the way of its being followed, but, on the contrary, he was obliged by law, and at the public expense, to prepare a written document, containing an account of the name and circumstances of the appellant, together with a full and certified statement of the case, as well as to provide him with a vessel to carry him to Rome. Of this privilege, to which his birth as a freeman entitled him, Paul availed himself, when sisted as a prisoner at the bar of Festus; and although Agrippa, who was sitting as assessor on the judicial bench, and who, was perfectly competent, from his thorough knowledge of Jewish customs, to enter into its merits, had expressed the most favourable opinion of the case, no sooner had the apostle announced his intention of appealing to Cæsar,* than all further proceedings were instantly stopped, and the servant of the Lord was remanded to prison, only to wait the arrival of a vessel bound for Italy.†

[When Roman magistrates ordered a criminal into confinement,—as if the person of the prisoner was not considered secure enough within the many walls and adamantine gates of the jail,—a guard was appointed to remain with him all night in his cell; whose presence

* The infamous Nero was then on the throne.—*Editor.*

† In spite, however, of this excellent provision of the law, governors of provinces had some ways of evading it, and extorting money by arbitrary and unjust proceedings. Thus, by threatening to order a prisoner to be sent to Rome against his will, they sometimes frightened him into a pecuniary commutation. The dread of long and perilous voyages, as well as of the expensive delays of trial, would induce many to submit to this extortion. This was the secret of Felix's conduct towards Paul, whom he frequently sent for, and hoped that money would be given by the apostle, who showed himself, however, to be a person of a disposition not to be easily awed by the prospect of going to Rome, and the result shews that this was rather according to his wish.'—*Eastern Manners.*—*Editor.*

alone would have been a sufficient guarantee for his safety, as will be evident from a description of the singular preventions the Romans took to prevent the possibility of escape. Around the arm of the prisoner was attached a long and ponderous chain, which, at the other extremity, was fastened to the wrist of the soldier; so that the one could not move a step, nor alter his position, without a corresponding movement on the part of the other. In extraordinary cases, where the utmost vigilance was required, four guards were appointed; two of them, being stationed on either side of the prisoner, were bound to his person by chains fastened respectively to his right and left arms;—a most painful position, which, one should have imagined, would have proved, independently of any other cause, sufficient to banish all comfort and sleep; and yet the apostle Peter, sustained by the peace of God, which passeth understanding, enjoyed both in a measure that might well have been envied by the profligate and unhappy monarch who meditated his ruin.*

[Prisoners of the greatest criminality, or of high political importance, were subjected to a still closer and a much more ignominious confinement. In the middle, or more frequently at the farther end, of Roman prisons, was a dark and loathsome cell; the door of which was so narrow, that a person had to be violently thrust through, ere he could enter; the bottom of which consisted of such an accumulation of mud and filth, that he sank almost to the knees; and was altogether so horrible a place, that no soldier was mean enough to be appointed to the degrading office of mounting guard there; not even the jailor was required to remain in it, but was furnished with a small sentry-box at the entrance, in which he sat, to be within hearing if any commotion was made by the prisoners. It was into such a cold and disgusting hole that Paul and Silas

* Acts xii. 6-19.

were thrust by the Philippian jailor; and their situation may be more easily imagined than described, when, with their backs, on which they lay, lacerated with the scourge, and their still bleeding wounds smarting with the cold and the damp, they were so far elevated above bodily sorrows and wants, that they could, in lively strains, sing praises to God, who had counted them worthy to suffer shame for his sake.*]

The Romans punished some of their criminals by exposing them to the rage of wild beasts in the theatres. Sometimes they cast them naked to the savage animals, exasperated by long fasting, to be devoured; this punishment was reserved for wicked servants, and persons of the vilest character. Sometimes they sent men armed into the theatre, to fight with beasts, and if they could conquer them, and save themselves, they obtained their liberty; but if not, they became the prey of their savage antagonists. It is the last custom to which the apostle refers in these words to the Corinthians:—'If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus.'† But persons appointed to certain death were brought forth on the theatre, in the after part of the day, to fight either with each other, or with wild beasts. To this kind of spectacles, which were quite common in all the provinces of the Roman empire, the apostle makes a pointed allusion in these words:—'For I think that God hath set forth us, the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.'‡ 'Doomed to certain death, they were exhibited εσχατους, last, or in the afternoon, when they had not the poor chance of escaping which those brought forth in the morning had. The words απεδειξεν exhibited, and θεατρον a spectacle, on the theatre, have, in this connexion, a beautiful propriety. The whole passage, indeed, is full of high eloquence, and

* Acts xvi. 24. † 1 Corinthians xv. 32.
‡ 1 Corinthians iv. 9.

finely adapted to move their compassion in favour of those who were so generously expiring and sacrificing themselves for the public good.'*

[The dress of an executed criminal was a perquisite of the guards; who, being usually four in number, voluntarily agreed upon such a scheme of division as gave each an equal share of the spoil; or, where the clothes were so scanty, or some portions of them so worthless and tattered, as not to admit of such a distribution, dice, a favourite pastime of the Roman soldiers, were employed to determine whose property they should be. The wearing apparel of Jesus was distributed among the soldiers in the ordinary way, with the single exception of the seamless coat, which, being woven from the top throughout, and being, as is generally thought, the workmanship and gift of some of those pious females who statedly waited on his ministry, was too valuable to be torn into fragments, and was, therefore, by a cast of the dice, appropriated to one of the guards.†

[Criminals, who died by public execution, were not usually denied the rites of sepulture. This last attention, the refusal of which was reckoned one of the most grievous and inhuman cruelties that could be perpetrated, was granted even to the vilest malefactors; although, for want of friends, or benevolent strangers to interest themselves in the fate of persons who had forfeited all claims to the sympathies of society, their corpses were frequently left to blanch in the open air, or to become a prey to the ravenous birds and beasts. The moment, however, that relatives, or any respectable individuals, made the request to the proper authorities for leave to remove the body for interment, their wishes were gratified; and although, in the later and more corrupt periods of Roman history, there are instances of governors, and even emperors, who withheld this privilege until bribed

* Doddridge *in loc.* † John xix. 24.

by surviving friends, such a mercenary practice was unknown in earlier and better times ; and the surprise which Pilate doubtless felt at the application of Joseph for the body of Jesus, would proceed, not from the request being an unusual one, but from the circumstance of a person of Joseph's rank interesting himself about one on whom the brand of ignominy was deeply fixed.]

CHAPTER XI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE PUBLIC GAMES IN GREECE.

Games and combats were instituted by the ancients in honour of their gods; and were celebrated with that view by the most polished and enlightened nations of antiquity. The most renowned heroes, legislators, and statesmen, did not think it unbecoming their character and dignity, to mingle with the combatants, or contend in the race; they even reckoned it glorious to share in the exercises, and meritorious to carry away the prize. The victors were crowned with a wreath of laurel in presence of their country; they were celebrated in the rapturous effusions of their poets; they were admired, and almost adored by the innumerable multitudes which flocked to the games, from every part of Greece, and many of the adjacent countries. They returned to their own homes in a triumphal chariot, and made their entrance into their native city, not through the gates which admitted the vulgar throng, but through a breach in the walls, which were broken down to give them admission; and at the same time to express the persuasion of their fellow-citizens, that walls are of small use to a city defended by men of such tried courage and ability. Hence the surprising ardour which animated all the states of Greece to imitate the ancient heroes, and encircle their brows with wreaths, which rendered them still more the objects of admira-

tion or envy to succeeding times, than the victories they had gained, or the laws they had enacted.*

But the institutors of those games and combats, had higher and nobler objects in view than veneration for the mighty dead, or the gratification of ambition or vanity; it was their design to prepare the youth for the profession of arms; to confirm their health; to improve their strength, their vigour, and activity; to inure them to fatigue; and to render them intrepid in close fight, where in the infancy of the art of war, muscular force commonly decided the victory.

This statement accounts for the striking allusions which the apostle Paul makes in his epistles to these celebrated exercises. Such references were calculated to touch the heart of a Greek, and of every one familiarly acquainted with them, in the liveliest manner, as well as to place before the eye of his mind the most glowing and correct images of spiritual and divine things. No passages in the nervous and eloquent epistles from the pen of Paul, have been more admired by critics and expositors, even in modern times, than those into which some allusion to these agonistic exercises is introduced; and, perhaps, none are calculated to leave a deeper impression on the Christian's mind, or excite a stronger and more salutary influence on his actions.

Certain persons were appointed to take care that all things were done according to custom, to decide controversies that happened amongst the antagonists, and to adjudge the prize to the victor.† Some eminent writers are of opinion that Christ is called the 'author and finisher of our faith,' in allusion to these judges. 'Thus,' says Mr Dunlop, 'he eases us of our burdens, animates our faintness, retards the progress of our enemies, and at length will, with his own hand, set upon our heads that beautiful diadem which he hath purchased with his own blood.'‡

* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. i. p. 440. † Ib. vol. i. p. 441.
‡ Burder's Oriental Customs, ob. 366.

Those who were designed for the profession of athletæ, or combatants, frequented, from their earliest years, the academies maintained for that purpose at the public expense. In these places, they were exercised under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the fatigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen to which they submitted was very hard and severe. At first, they had no other nourishment than dried figs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy sort of bread called μαζα; they were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence.

When they proposed to contend in the Olympian games, they were obliged to repair to the public gymnasium at Elis, ten months before the solemnity, where they prepared themselves by continual exercises. No man that had omitted to present himself at the appointed time, was allowed to contend for any of the prizes; nor were the accustomed rewards of victory given to such persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their antagonists; nor would any apology, though seemingly ever so reasonable, serve to excuse their absence. No person that was himself a notorious criminal, or nearly related to one, was permitted to contend. Further, to prevent underhand dealings, if any person was convicted of bribing his adversary, a severe fine was laid upon him; nor was this alone thought a sufficient guard against unfair contracts and unjust practices, but the contenders were obliged to swear they had spent ten whole months in preparatory exercises; and besides all this, they, their fathers, and their brethren, took a solemn oath, that they would not, by any sinister or unlawful means, endeavour to stop the fair and just proceedings of the games.*

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 449. [' If any person at the games were guilty of fraud, or foul play, he was publicly con-

The spiritual contest, in which all true Christians aim at obtaining a heavenly crown, has its rules also, devised and enacted by infinite wisdom and goodness, which require implicit and exact submission, which neither yield to time nor circumstances, but maintain their supreme authority, from age to age, uninterrupted and unimpaired. The combatant who violates these rules forfeits the prize, and is driven from the field with indelible disgrace, and consigned to everlasting woe. Hence the great apostle of the Gentiles exhorts his son Timothy strictly to observe the precepts of the divine law, the rule of his conduct in the hand of the Mediator, without which, he can no more hope to obtain the approbation of God, and the possession of the heavenly crown, than a combatant in the public games of Greece, who disregards the established rules, can hope to receive from the hands of the judge the promised reward:—'And if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully,'* or according to the established laws of the games.

Like the Grecian combatants, the Christian must be well-born; born, 'not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of the Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever;' he must be free: 'a citizen with the saints, and of the household of faith;' he must 'abstain from fleshly lusts,' and 'walk in all the statutes and commandments of the Lord, blameless.' Such was Paul; and in this manner he endeavoured to act:—'But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.' †

demned by the severe justice of the Hellanodics (judges), and ordered to be scourged for having infringed the Olympic laws, which prohibited, under severe penalties, every kind of unfair dealing. Besides, the competitors, in the foot races particularly, were restrained by express statute from laying hold of the hair, or any part of the body, from tripping, or even pushing one another aside.' —*West*, vol. ii. p. 74.]—*Editor.*

* 2 Tim. ii. 5. † 1 Cor. ix. 27.

The latter part of this verse, Doddridge renders, 'lest after having served as an herald, I should be disapproved;' and says in a note, 'I thought it of importance to retain the primitive sense of these gymnastic expressions.' It is well known to those who are at all acquainted with the original, that the word *κηρυξας*, means to discharge the office of a herald, whose business it was to proclaim the conditions of the games, and display the prizes, to awaken the emulation and resolution of those who were to contend in them. But the apostle intimates, that there was this peculiar circumstance attending the christian contest, that the person who proclaimed its laws and rewards to others, was also to engage himself; and that there would be a peculiar infamy and misery in his miscarrying. Αδοκιμος, which we render *castaway*, signifies one who is disapproved by the judge of the games, as not having fairly deserved the prize.

The rule which the apostle applies to himself, he extends, in another passage, to all the members of the christian church; all, without exception, must lead a sober and penitent life: — 'Those who strive for the mastery, are temperate in all things; now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.' Tertullian uses the same thought, to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the athletæ endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercises they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives; and the voluntary privation which they imposed on themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions.

In order to attain the greater agility and dexterity, it was usual for those who intended to box in the games, to exercise their arms with the gauntlet on, when they had no antagonist near them; and this was called *σκιομαχια*, in which a man would of course beat the air.

In the foot race, the runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. While they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable, and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by making small leaps, and little excursions, which were a kind of trial of their speed and agility; in such exercises, they might be said with great propriety to *run uncertainly*, towards no particular point, and with no direct or immediate view to the prize. Both these allusions occur in the declaration of the apostle:—'I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air.'* He did not engage in his christian course, as one doubtful in himself, whether in pursuing the path of duty, he should have the honour of being crowned at last or not,—as they are, who know that one only receives the prize; nor did he exercise himself unto godliness, like boxers or wrestlers, who sometimes fight in jest, or merely to prepare for the combat, or to display their strength and agility, while they had no resistance to encounter, no enemy to subdue, no reward to merit; but he pressed on, fully persuaded that, by the grace of God, he should obtain an incorruptible crown from the hands of his Redeemer.

The athletæ took care to disencumber their bodies of every article of clothing, which could in any manner hinder or incommode them. The pugilists at first used a belt, with an apron or scarf fastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering falling off, modesty was in future sacrificed to convenience, and the apron was laid aside.† In the foot race, they were anxious to carry as little weight as possible; and uniformly stripped themselves of all such clothes, as by their weight, length, or otherwise,

* 1 Cor. ix. 26. † Thucyd. book i. chap. 6.

might entangle or retard them in the course.* The Christian also must 'lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset' him :† in the exercise of faith and self-denial, he must 'cast off the works of darkness,' lay aside all malice and guile, hypocrisies, and envyings, and evil speakings, inordinate affections, and worldly cares, and whatever else might obstruct his holy profession, damp his spirits, and hinder his progress in the paths of righteousness.

The exercise of boxing was sometimes performed by combatants, having in their hands balls of stone or lead. At first, their hands and arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with thongs of leather, called cestus, which were used both as defensive arms, and to annoy the enemy, being filled with plummets of lead and iron, to add force to the blows.‡

Besides protecting their hands with the cestus or glove, they covered their heads with a sort of leathern cap, to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence.

How fiercely soever the combatants fought, the length of the contest frequently reduced them to the necessity of making a pause: the battle was suspended for some minutes, which were employed in recovering from their fatigue, and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed; after which they renewed the fight, till one of the combatants, by dropping his arms or swooning away, yielded the victory.

This was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the gymnastic combats; because the antagonists ran the hazard, either of being disabled, or losing their lives.

* 'Eustathius, in his comment upon Homer, relates the accident that gave occasion to the laying aside the scarf. One Orsippus, a racer, happened to be thrown down by his scarf tangling about his feet, and was killed, though others say that he only lost the victory by his fall; but which ever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a law that all the Athletæ for the future should contend naked.'—*West*, vol. ii. p. 75.—*Editor.*

† Heb, xii. 1. ‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i. p. 443.

They sometimes fell down dead or dying upon the sand; or they quitted the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know themselves; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, as bruises and contusions in the face, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.*

It is to this rude and dangerous exercise the apostle refers in his reasoning with the Hebrew converts:—'Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin.'† The contest in which they were engaged with their adversaries, had been severe and of long continuance; they had sustained no small loss of liberty and property, which they cheerfully resigned for the sake of Christ, in hope of a better inheritance in heaven; they were in danger of becoming weary and faint in their minds, from the length of the contest; but though their antagonists had often tried to defeat and foil them, they had not been permitted to shed their blood, or take away their lives, as they did to many of the saints in preceding ages. The combatant in the public games, who gave up the contest before he had lost a drop of his blood, merely because he had received a few contusions, or been roughly handled by his opponent, would have been infallibly branded with infamy. Not less shameful, and infinitely more dangerous, it would have been for any of these Hebrews to flinch from his duty, or desist from his christian course, on account of the slighter difficulties and losses he had met with in striving against sin.

Wrestlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oil, in order to increase the strength and flexibility of their limbs.‡ But as this unction, in mak-

* Rollin's Ancient History, vol. i. p. 71. † Heb. xii. 4.

‡ Burette says it was an ointment formed of certain proportions of oil, wax, and dust.—*Mem. sur les Athletes.* The wrestlers sometimes anointed each other, sometimes this was done by the officers

ing the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the Palæstra, sometimes by throwing fine sand upon each other, kept for that purpose in Xystæ, or porticoes of the Gymnasia.

Thus prepared, they began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes several couples contended at the same time. In this combat, the whole aim and design of the wrestlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both strength and art were employed for this purpose; they seized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs in each other's, seizing by the neck or throat, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all sides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twisting one another's necks.

In this manner, the athletæ wrestled standing, the combat ending with the fall of one of the competitors.* To this combat, the words of Eliphaz seem to apply:—'For he stretcheth out his hand against God,' like a wrestler, challenging his antagonist to the contest, 'and strengthening himself,' rather vaunteth himself, stands up haughtily, and boasts of his prowess in the full view of 'the Almighty,' throwing abroad his arms, clapping his hands together, springing into the middle of the ring, and taking his station there in the adjusted attitude of defiance. 'He runneth upon him, even upon his neck,' or with his neck stretched out, furiously

of the Palæstra. The area where the wrestling matches were performed was strewed with fine soft sand, to lessen the severity of falls. 'All sorts of sand or dust,' says West, 'were not equally proper for this use; hence Leonatus, one of Alexander's generals, was in all the marches of the army, followed by camels loaded with sand, which he had caused to be passed through a sieve, and brought from Egypt.'—*West's Pindar*, vol. ii. p. 80.—*Editor.*

* The victory was adjudged to him who gave his adversary three falls.—*West*, vol. ii. p. 83.—*Editor.*

dashing his head against the other ; and this he does, even when he perceives that his adversary is covered with defensive armour, upon which he can make no impression : 'he runneth upon the thick bosses of his bucklers.'* But when it happened that the wrestler who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished.† Such appears to have been the manner in which Jacob wrestled with the angel :— 'And Jacob was left alone ; and there wrestled a man with him, until the breaking of the day,'‡ The verb which we render to wrestle, is derived from the noun *(abak)*, dust or fine sand, and means to struggle in the dust, or to sprinkle each other with small dust, after the manner of wrestlers. Hence, the victory was not contested by Jacob and the angel standing, as Rollin seems to suppose, but rolling in the dust.§

There is only another text in which the sacred writer may seem to make an allusion to this species of contest :—'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood ; but against principalities and powers ;'‖ but as the apostle, in the preceding verse, directs the Ephesians to put on the whole armour of God, that they might be able to stand against the wiles of the devil, he must allude, not to the combat of the wrestler, who performed his exercises naked, but to the art of war, in which the combatant appeared in complete armour, and endeavoured to

* Taylor's Calmet, vol iii.

† Rollin's Ancient Hist. vol. i. p. 69. ‡ Gen. xxxii. 24.

§ Thus in Virgil, the happy tenants of the Elysian fields were employed:—'Some exercise their limbs on the grassy plains, contend in sports, and wrestle on the yellow sand :

'Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris;
Contendunt ludo, et fulva luctantur arena.'

‖ Eph. vi. 12. *Æn.* lib vi. l. 643.

make the best use of every weapon, offensive or defensive, which art or nature supplied.

The only other athletic exercise to which the sacred writers allude, is the foot race. It seems to have been placed in the first rank of public games, and cultivated with a care and industry proportioned to the estimation in which it was held. The olympic games generally opened with races, and were celebrated at first with no other exercise.* The lists or course where the athletæ exercised themselves in running, was at first but one stadium in length, or about six hundred feet; and from this measure it took its name, and was called the stadium, whatever might be its extent. This, in the language of Paul, speaking of the Christian's course, was 'the race which was set before him,' determined by public authority, and carefully measured. On each side of the stadium and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrace, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated, an innumerable multitude, in eastern style almost darkening the air, collected from all parts of Greece, to which the apostle thus alludes in his figurative description of the christian life:—'Seeing we are compassed about with so great a *cloud* of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight.'†

The most remarkable parts of the stadium, were its entrance, middle, and extremity. The entrance was marked at first, only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the stadium. To prevent any unfair advantage being taken by the more vigilant or alert candidates, a cord was at length stretched in front of the horses or men that were to run; and sometimes the space was railed in with wood. The opening of this barrier, was the signal for the racers to start. The middle of the stadium was remarkable, only by the circumstance of having the prizes allotted to the victors set up there. From this custom, Chrysostom draws a fine comparison:—'As the judges, in the races and other

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i. pp. 441, 442. † Heb. xii. 1.

games, expose in the midst of the stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns which they were to receive; in like manner, the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the which he designs for those who have the courage to contend for them.'

At the extremity of the stadium, was a goal, where the foot races ended; but in those of chariots and horses, they were to run several times round it without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race, by regaining the other extremity of the lists from whence they started. It is therefore to the foot race the apostle alludes, when he speaks of the race set before the Christian, which was a straight course, to be run only once, and not, as in the other, several times without stopping.

According to some writers, it was at the goal, and not in the middle of the course, that the prizes were exhibited; and they were placed in a very conspicuous situation, that the competitors might be animated by having them always in their sight. This accords with the view which the apostle gives of the christian life:—'Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high-calling of God in Christ Jesus.'* L'Enfant thinks, the apostle here compares our Lord to those who stood at the elevated place at the end of the course, calling the racers by their names, and encouraging them by holding out the crown, to exert themselves with vigour.†

Within the measured and determinate limits of the stadium, the athletæ were bound to contend for the prize, which they forfeited without hope of recovery, if they deviated ever so little from the appointed course. In allusion to this inviolable arrangement, the apostle

* Phil. iii. 14, 15. † Burder, vol. i. No. 551.

tells the Corinthians :—'We will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you. For we stretch not ourselves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also, in preaching the gospel of Christ.'* It may help very much to understand this and the following verses, if, with Hammond, we consider the terms used in them as *agonistical*. In this view of them, the measure of the rule (το μετρον του κανονος), alludes to the path marked out, and bounded by a white line, for racers in the Isthmian games, celebrated among the Corinthians; and so the apostle represents his works in preaching the gospel as his spiritual race, and the province to which he was appointed as the compass or stage of ground, which God had distributed or measured out (εμεριτεν αυτω), for him to run in. Accordingly, 'to boast without his measure' (ver. 14, εις τα αμετρα), and to stretch himself beyond his measure (υπερ εκτεινεσθαι), refer to one that ran beyond or out of his line. 'We are come as far as to you' (ver. 14, αχρι υμων εφθασαμεν), alludes to him that came foremost to the goal; and, 'in another man's line' (ver. 16, εν αλλοτριω κανονι), signifies in the province that was marked out for somebody else, in allusion to the line by which the race was bounded, each of the racers having the path which he ought to run chalked out to him, and if one stepped over into the other's path, he extended himself over his line.†

The chariot races were the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the ancients; and those from which the victors derived the greatest honour; but the writer can find only one or two allusions to them in the sacred volume, and those involved in some uncertainty. One occurs in Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, where he informs them of his great success in collecting a church at Ephesus :—'But I will

* 2 Cor. x. 13, 14. † Burder's Orient. Cust. No. 329.

tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost; for a great door, and effectual, is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.'* The inspired writer, it is thought, alludes here to the door of the Circus, which was opened to let out the chariots when the races were to begin; and by the word *αντικειμενοι*, which is translated *adversaries*, but which Doddridge renders *opposers*, means the same with antagonists, with whom he was to contend as in a course. This opposition rendered his presence more necessary to preserve those that were already converted, and to increase their number, if God should bless his ministry. Accordingly, a celebrated church was planted at Ephesus; and so far as we can learn from the tenor of his epistle, there was less to reprove and correct among them than in most of the other churches to which he wrote.†

The other allusion occurs in his second epistle to the Thessalonians:—'Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you.'‡ Some think these words allude to the applauses given to those who made a speedy progress in the races, which constituted so important a part of the Grecian games.§

The honours and rewards granted to the victors were of several kinds. They were animated in their course by the rapturous applauses of the countless multitudes that lined the stadium, and waited the issue of the contest with eager anxiety; and their success was instantly followed by reiterated and long-continued plaudits; but these were only a prelude to the appointed rewards, which, though of little value in themselves, were accounted the highest honour to which a mortal could aspire. These consisted of different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. After the judges had passed sentence, a public herald

* 1 Cor. xvi. 9.
† Burder's Orient. Cust. vol. i. No. 525.
‡ 2 Thes. iii. 1.
§ Burder, No. 554.

proclaimed the name of the victor; one of the judges put the crown upon his head, and a branch of palm into his right hand, which he carried as a token of victorious courage and perseverance. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and sometimes on the same day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.*

When the victor had received his reward, a herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the stadium, and proclaimed aloud his name and country; while the delighted multitudes, at the sight of him, redoubled their acclamations and applauses.

The crown, in the Olympic games, was of wild olive; in the Pythian, of laurel; in the Isthmian or Corinthian, of pine-tree; and in the Nemæan, of smallage or parsley. Now, most of these were evergreens; yet they would soon grow dry, and crumble into dust. Elsner produces many passages, in which the contenders in these exercises are rallied by the Grecian wits, on account of the extraordinary pains they took for such trifling rewards; and Plato has a celebrated passage, which greatly resembles that of the apostle, but by no means equals it in force and beauty:—'Now, they do it, to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.' The Christian is called to fight the good fight of faith, and to lay hold of eternal life; and to this he is more powerfully stimulated by considering that the ancient athletæ took all their care and pains only for the sake of obtaining a garland of flowers, or a wreath of laurel, which quickly fades and perishes, possesses little intrinsic value, and only serves to nourish their pride and vanity, without imparting any solid advantage to themselves or others; but that which is placed in the view of the spiritual combatants, to animate their exertions and reward their labours, is no less than a crown of glory, which never decays; a crown of infinite worth and duration; 'an inherit-

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 445, *et seq.*

ance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for them.'* More than conquerors through him that loved them, and washed them from their sins in his own blood; they, too, carry palms in their right hands, the appropriate emblems of victory, hardly contested, and fairly won. 'After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, and palms in their hands.'†

But the victory sometimes remained doubtful, in consequence of which a number of competitors appeared before the judges, and claimed the prize; and sometimes a combatant, by dishonourable management, endeavoured to gain the victory.‡ The candidates, who were rejected on such occasions by the judge of the games, as not having fairly merited the prize, were called by the Greeks *αδοκιμοι*, or disapproved, and which we render *castaway*, in a passage already quoted from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians :—'But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be (*αδοκιμος*) cast away,' rejected by the judge of all the earth, and disappointed of my expected crown.

* 1 Peter i. 4; and v. 4. † Rev. vii. 9. ‡ Æneid. lib. v. l. 350.

CHAPTER XII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS.

The ancient Hebrews, like the nations around them, were wholly unacquainted with the refinements of modern warfare. From the age of Abraham, the renowned father of their tribes, they had little other business to employ their leisure hours, than feeding their flocks and herds, or tilling a few acres of land in the districts which they visited, except in Egypt, where their severe bondage was still more unfavourable to the cultivation of military habits. In such circumstances, the defence of their flocks and herds from the violence of roving hordes, which occasionally scoured the country, generally produced the only wars in which they engaged. The rapid history of the patriarchs records a sufficient number of incidents to shew, that, how rude and unpolished soever they might be, they were by no means deficient in personal courage ; and in the expedition of Abraham against the confederate kings, we can discern the rudiments of that military conduct, which has so often since his time filled the world with admiration or dismay. It will be readily admitted, that, when the chosen people went up out of Egypt, where they had been long and cruelly oppressed, and, in consequence of their miseries, had contracted the abject and cowardly dispositions of the slave, they were quite incapable of warlike enterprises ; but when

their minds recovered the vigour and elevation which the freedom and hard discipline of the wilderness inspired, they discovered, on many trying occasions, a boldness and resolution which were never surpassed by any of their antagonists. [Many feats of daring bravery and personal adventure distinguished their early occupation of Canaan. The history of the Judges, in fact, is little else than a record of warlike undertakings; but these, far from being the result of united counsels, or conducted on a scale of extensive and formidable preparations, were only tumultuary skirmishes, carried on, not by the whole body of the people, but in a single canton, or by a single tribe only,—the sudden risings of the borderers to repel the attacks of their ruthless neighbours, and which as speedily ended, on their recovering, like Abraham, the friends or property that had been carried off. They had no standing army; and the forces they could muster, when occasion demanded, being only shepherds or husbandmen, who turned the rude implements of their calling, for the time, into weapons of war, and who were naturally afraid to meet a numerous and well-appointed army in the field, they made their attacks or reprisals almost always in the night, and were content to gain by stratagem and artifice, what they were unable to do by a regular engagement. In short, the guerilla wars of the Judges were exactly of the same desultory character with the incursions of the modern Arabs, who often make a sudden descent on the territories of their more peaceful neighbours, and then as suddenly decamp with the booty they have seized, pursued and stripped of their plunder, perhaps, ere the next morning dawns.*]

Till the reign of David, the armies of Israel were no

* These were defensive wars, but in addition to motives of self-defence,—the chief motives which roused the tribes of Israel in early times to arms, they had a reason peculiar to themselves,—the Divine command to exterminate the Canaanites from the promised land. —*Editor.*

better than a raw and undisciplined militia; and the simplicity of their behaviour sufficiently appears from the story of Goliath, who defied all the warriors that fought under the banners of Saul; and with a haughty look, and a few arrogant words, struck them with so great a terror, that they fled before him. But the troops of the surrounding kingdoms were neither more courageous nor more skilful in the use of arms, which is evident from the history of David's captains, the first of whom engaged, single-handed, three hundred men, and slew them at one time. And this is not the only instance of such daring and successful valour; this same Eleazar was one of three warriors who defended a plot of barley, after the people had fled, against the whole force of the Philistines, whom they routed with prodigious slaughter, after a desperate conflict.* Nor is the sacred historian justly chargeable with transgressing the rules of probability in such relations, which, however strange and incredible they may appear to us, exactly accorded with the manners of the times in which he wrote. Homer often introduces Achilles, Hector, and other heroes, engaging, and, by the valour of their own arm, putting to flight, whole squadrons of their enemies. Such feats are by no means uncommon in the history of rude and unpolished nations, who, in the revolution of a few ages, became not less celebrated for their steady and disciplined heroism in the field, than for the sagacity of their measures in the cabinet. Under the banners of David, a prince of a truly heroic mind, the tribes of Israel often put to flight vast numbers of their enemies, and became a terror to all the circumjacent kingdoms.

Every man in Israel, from twenty years old and upwards, was by law a soldier, the priests and Levites not excepted. Benaiah the priest, son of Jehoiada, was one of the most renowned captains in the armies of David, and commander-in-chief of Solomon's troops,

* 1 Chronicles xi. 14.

in the room of Joab. The armies of Israel were, in fact, a body of militia; and, like the same kind of troops in some other countries, they were ready to assemble at the first notice. At the age of fifty, they might demand their discharge; or, if they preferred it, they might continue in arms.

In Greece, too, the armies consisted for the most part of free citizens, whom the laws of their country obliged to appear in arms, when they arrived at a certain age, on the summons of a magistrate or commissioned officer. In Athens, as in Palestine, the youth were not led to the field till they had attained the age of twenty, though they were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it, at eighteen years of age. But they were not permitted to retire from the service till they had completed their sixtieth year.*

The Jews never spoke of levying troops, but of choosing them; because all the males, from twenty years old and upwards, being liable to serve, they had always a great many more than they wanted. In allusion to the general muster of the people, and the selection of a certain number for the service of their country, our Lord observes:—'Many are called, but few are chosen.'† The great mass of the people were called together by sound of trumpet, and on passing in review before the officers, those were chosen who were deemed most fit for service. This is the reason why the Hebrews usually called their soldiers young men, and *bahurim*, chosen. But no man, who felt a disposition to serve his country, was rejected; though an Israelite was not chosen, he might volunteer his services, and was then enrolled.

Nearly the same forms were used by the Romans during the republic. The consuls, after they entered on their office, appointed a day when all those who were of the military age were summoned to appear in the capitol. On the day appointed, the consuls, assisted

* Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. pp. 1, 2. † Matt. xx. 16.

by the military or legionary tribunes, held a levy, when they ordered such as they pleased to be cited of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty.*

The armies of Israel were often extremely numerous. Six hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms, marched out of Egypt to take possession of Canaan, the inheritance promised to their fathers; and after their establishment in that country, such immense masses of men are described to have appeared in the field, as fill the reader with equal surprise and hesitation. Unable to conceive how the narrow limits assigned to the twelve tribes could furnish such powerful armies, some have questioned the purity of the text, and others have denied its inspiration altogether. It is readily granted, that the statement of numbers in all ancient records is liable to great and important errors, especially when they are expressed by letters, as in Hebrew, many of which nearly resemble one another. But while this is admitted, still a variety of circumstances present themselves to the notice of a candid mind, which render the gross amount of the numbers given in the sacred page not only possible, but fully entitled to credit. In judging of this question, it is unfair to apply the usual proportion of fighting men to the mass of the population in modern Europe; for the cases are quite dissimilar. It is equally unfair to overlook the extraordinary fruitfulness of Canaan; its minute division among the tribes; the frugal habits of the people, and the peculiar composition of an Asiatic army, in which it is computed, that every soldier has commonly ten or twelve followers, and often many more. The soil of Canaan, throughout its whole extent, swarmed with a hardy race of cultivators, all of whom, from twenty years old and upwards, were enrolled and liable to be called out to war. Numerous as their levies were, they did not

* Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 368.

exceed those of Xerxes, Darius, and other eastern monarchs. But as the accounts of these are supposed to be justly liable to suspicion, let us turn to the authentic page of Knolles, and from his 'History of the Turks,' state the numbers in the contending armies of Bajazet and Tamerlane. The army of the Tartar chief consisted, by the testimony of that historian, of '*four hundred thousand horse*, and *six hundred thousand foot;* or, as some others that were there present affirm, *three hundred thousand horsemen*, and *five hundred thousand foot, of all nations*. To arrest his progress, Bajazet assembled an army of *three hundred thousand men;* or, as some report, of *three hundred thousand horsemen*, and *two hundred thousand foot*.'* The contending armies, in the late destructive war, were said at one time to be nearly as numerous.†

These were indeed mighty empires, which may well be supposed capable of raising forces, to which the small state of Judea was incompetent. But if the Jewish armies were composed of the same heterogeneous materials as those of their neighbours, which cannot be reasonably doubted, the competency of that small kingdom to send such a force into the field, is by no means incredible. The justness of this remark will appear from the statement of Baron du Tott, in relation to the armies raised by the Cham of Crim Tartary.

'It may be presumed,' says he, 'that the rustic frugal life which these pastoral people lead, favours population; while the wants and excesses of luxury, among polished nations, strike at its very root. In fact, it is observed that the people are less numerous under the roofs of the Crimea and the province of Boodjack, than in the tents of the Noguais. The best calculation we can make, is from a view of the military forces which

* Knolles' Hist of the Turks, abridged by Savage, vol. i. pp. 142, 143.

† The war of the French Revolution.

the Cham is able to assemble. We shall soon see this prince raising *three* armies at the same time; one of *a hundred thousand men*, which he commanded in person; another of *sixty thousand*, commanded by the calga; and a third of *forty thousand*, by the nooradin. He had the power of raising *double the number*, without prejudice to the necessary labours of the state.' *

To this important account may be added the following observations from Volney's Travels:—'*Sixty thousand men* with them, are very far from being synonymous with *sixty thousand* soldiers, as in our armies. That of which we are now speaking, affords a proof of this; it might amount, in fact, to forty thousand men, which may be classed as follows: Five thousand Mamlouk cavalry, *which was the whole effective army;* about fifteen hundred Barbary Arabs, on foot, and no other infantry, for the Turks are acquainted with none; with them the cavalry is every thing. Besides these, each Mamlouk having in his suit *two* footmen, *armed with staves*, these would form a body of ten thousand valets, besides a number of servants and *serradgis*, or attendants on horseback, for the bey and kachefs, which may be estimated at two thousand; all the rest were sutlers and the usual train of followers. Such was this army, as described to me in Palestine, by persons who had seen and followed it.' † [In an Eastern camp, every man of any consequence is accompanied by his train of attendants, most of whom have also their trains, and when the sum-total of mirzas, servants, pipe-bearers, cooks and scullions, carpet-spreaders, running-footmen, grooms and horses, mule-drivers and camel-drivers, and a thousand other camp-followers is reckoned, the imagination may conceive the immensity of the crowd that is there.‡]

'The Asiatic armies are mobs, their marches ravages, their campaigns mere inroads, and their battles bloody

* Du Tott's Memoir, vol. i. p. 113.

† Volney's Travels, vol. i. p. 124.

‡ Morier's Hajji Baba.

frays. The strongest or the most adventurous party goes in search of the other, which not unfrequently flies without offering resistance. If they stand their ground, they engage pell-mell, discharge their carabines, break their spears, and hack each other with their sabres: for they rarely have any cannon; and when they have, they are but of little service. *A panic frequently diffuses itself without cause;* one party flies; the other pursues and shouts victory; the vanquished submits to the will of the conqueror, and the campaign often terminates without a battle.' *

These extracts clearly prove, that the soldiers compose but a very small part of an Asiatic army. 'In fact,' says Calmet, 'when we deduct those whose attendance is of little advantage; it may not be very distant from truth, if we say nine out of ten are such as in Europe would be forbid the army; and I would not absolutely despise the suggestion, that, when we read 40 instead of 400, the true fighting corps of soldiers only are reckoned and stated. However that may be, I think we have seen enough to justify the possibility of such numbers as the Scripture hath recorded, being assembled for the purposes of warfare; of which purposes plunder is not one of the least in the opinion of those who usually follow a camp. I think, too, we may be pretty certain, that no conclusive estimate of the population of a kingdom can be drawn from such assemblages, under such circumstances; and therefore, that no calculation ought to be hazarded on such imperfect *data*.' †

When the muster was completed among the Hebrews, the troops were trained to the use of arms, by officers skilled in the art of war. Their military exercises resembled those of other nations around them. Swiftness of foot was highly valued, as it gave the warrior a great advantage over his slower and more unwieldy antagonist. It is accordingly mentioned to the honour of

* Volney's Travels, vol. i. p. 126. † Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

Ashahel, one of David's captains, that he was swifter of foot than a wild roe ; and the sweet singer of Israel, in his pathetic elegy over those two great captains, Saul and Jonathan, takes particular notice of this warlike quality :—'They were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions.' Nor were the ancient Greeks less attentive to a qualification which the state of the military art in those days rendered so valuable. The foot races in the Olympic games were instituted by warlike chieftains, for the very purpose of inuring their subjects to the fatigues of war, and particularly of increasing their speed, which was regarded as an excellent qualification in a warrior, both because it served for a sudden attack and a nimble retreat. Homer, fully aware of its value in ancient warfare, says, that swiftness of foot is one of the most excellent endowments with which a man can be favoured :—

Ου μεν γαρ μειζον κλεος ανερος οφρα κεν ησιν
Η ό τι ποσσιν τε ρεξει και χερσιν εησιν.

Odyss. lib. viii. l. 147.*

To invigorate the frame, on the strength and firmness of which the victory almost entirely depended in primitive times, the Hebrew captains are said to have exercised their soldiers in lifting great weights. After the defeat of Saul, which seems to have been chiefly effected by the skill and valour of the enemy's archers, David commanded his officers to instruct their troops in the use of the bow, which, though employed by the Hebrew warriors from the earliest times, appears to have been rather neglected till that terrible catastrophe taught them the necessity of forming a body of skilful archers, which might enable them to meet their enemies in the field on equal terms. The Hebrew youth were also taught to hurl the javelin, to handle the spear, and to use the sling, in which many of them greatly excelled.

The alarm of war was given by the voice of a herald,

* See also Iliad, lib. x. l. 356. Odyssey, lib. iii. l. 112.
Αντιλοχος περι μεν θειειν ταχυς, ηδε μαχητης·

or by a standard raised on the top of the highest mountain, to which was sometimes added the martial sound of the trumpet. Saul probably adopted the first method to assemble his troops, in order to repel the incursion of the Philistines, soon after his accession to the throne; for it is written, 'The people were called together after Saul, to Gilgal.'* [The heralds, on the first occasion of Saul's exercising the royal authority, carried with them some well known tokens to enforce his summons to arms. The king took a yoke of oxen and hewed them to pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel, by the hands of messengers, saying, 'Whoso cometh not forth after Saul, and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen.'† Whether in making proclamations of war, the heralds had not been accustomed, formerly, to enforce their call by the exhibition of such bloody fragments, or whether there had been adopted some uncommon way of preparing them, by searing the ends of the pieces, as many eastern chiefs were accustomed to do, there was something so unusual, or so commanding and energetic, in this first measure of their young king, that a profound sensation was produced, and a general muster without delay took place at the appointed place of rendezvous,—the people with one consent rallying round the standard of a prince, who had shewn himself so equal to the emergency. The instant compliance of the Hebrews with the mandate of their sovereign, harmonizes with the universal character of the Asiatics, who are taught to yield implicit obedience to the authority of their chiefs; and the method taken for communicating the royal orders far and near by the distribution of pieces of flesh, was the same that had been usually adopted by princes of the East for time immemorial on the breaking out of a war. The usual way was, to slaughter an ox, and after exposing it to the view of the people, that all within reach might, by touching it, bind themselves to help

* 1 Samuel xiii. 4. † Ibid. xi. 7.

in avenging the national injury or disgrace, to cut it in pieces and send it to the neighbouring villages and towns, where all with whom a piece was left, were considered enlisted in the service, and bound to appear in arms at the place and time appointed. Like the fiery cross of the Highlanders, those bloody fragments were the universally recognized symbols of the sovereign's authority; and their distribution among the inhabitants of any place was understood as a summons, which it was at their peril to disobey, for immediately arming in defence of their country.] The prophet Isaiah, in one of his predictions, alludes both to the voice of the herald and the raising of the standard:—'Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand, that they may go unto the gates of the nobles.'* And when Gideon was called from the thrashing floor, to lead the armies of Israel against the countless swarms which marched under the banners of Midian, it is said, 'the spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he blew a trumpet, and Abiezer was gathered after him.'† But as this signal could be heard only by a few, he sent messengers through all Manasseh, Asher, Zebulon, and Naphtali, the inhabitants of which immediately joined his standard. The trumpet was used by many nations to gather the soldiers together, prepare them for the battle, give them notice of its commencement, and animate them to the fight. For these reasons, that instrument is called by Jeremiah, 'The alarm of war.'‡

As among the Romans, the soldiers were divided into legions, cohorts, and companies of an hundred men; so were the Hebrew warriors distributed into troops of a thousand, five hundred, an hundred, fifty, and ten men, each commanded by their proper officer. The whole army was commanded by the king in person, or by a general officer bearing his commission.

* Isaiah xiii. 2. † Judges vi. 34.
‡ Jer. iv. 19; xlix. 2. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 69.

In the early periods of the Jewish commonwealth, the soldiers served without pay.* The Grecian soldiers, too, were all maintained at their own expense; no name was more opprobrious than that of a mercenary, it being considered as a disgrace for any person of ingenuous birth and education to serve for pay. The Carians were the first who introduced the custom of serving for hire, which was considered so infamous, that all the writers of those times represent them as a base and servile people; the very name of Carian became synonymous with slave. But in a few ages, this custom, so far from being regarded as unworthy of their birth and education, was practised by the whole nation of the Greeks, who not only received pay for serving their own country, but also enlisted under the banners of foreign kings, and fought their battles for hire; their kings and chief magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such expeditions.†

Foreigners resident in the country were permitted to serve in the Jewish armies, and they sometimes rose to a very high rank; for both Urijah and Ittai, who seemed to have held principal commands in the armies of David, were aboriginal Canaanites. But, in succeeding ages, the kings of Judah, affecting to imitate the policy of the surrounding potentates, or distrusting the omnipotent protection of Jehovah, occasionally hired large bodies of foreign troops to fight their battles, who, like mercenaries of later times, after expelling the invaders, sometimes turned their arms

* The campaigns being generally of very brief duration, these gratuitous services were not felt to be burdensome; and as the scene of warfare was never at any very remote distance, each soldier was supplied with provisions by his own family and friends; so that all the while they were lying in camp, they enjoyed the pleasure of frequent communication with home. It was an embassy of this kind on which David was despatched by his family, with a fresh store of provisions to his three elder brothers, then serving in the army, that brought that young lad to his memorable exploit with Goliath.—*Editor.*

† Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 7-9.

against their employers, and ravaged the country which they came to protect.

In the first periods of the Jewish history, the armies of Israel consisted all of footmen. At length Solomon raised a body of twelve thousand horse, and fourteen hundred chariots, some with two, and others with four horses; but whether that magnificent prince intended them for pomp or war is uncertain. Infantry was also the chief strength of the Greek and Roman armies.* Cavalry is not so necessary in warm climates, where the march of troops is less incommoded with bad roads; nor can they be of so much use in mountainous countries, where their movements are attended with great difficulty and hazard. The eastern potentates, however, brought immense numbers of horse into the field, and chiefly trusted to their exertions for defence or conquest. The people of Israel, who were appointed to 'dwell alone,' and not to mingle with the nations around them, nor imitate their policy, were expressly forbidden to maintain large bodies of cavalry; and they accordingly prospered, or were defeated, as they obeyed or transgressed this divine command; which a celebrated author observes, cannot be justified by the measures of human prudence. Even upon political reasons, says Warburton, the Jews might be justified in the disuse of cavalry in the defence of their country, but not in conquering it from a warlike people, who abounded in horses. Here at least, the exertion of an extraordinary providence was wonderfully conspicuous. The kings who succeeded Solomon certainly raised a body of horse for the defence of their dominions, which they recruited from the studs of Egypt, in those times equally remarkable for their vigour and beauty. But the Jewish cavalry were seldom very numerous; and under the religious kings of David's line, who made the divine law the rule of their policy, they were either disembodied altogether, or reduced to

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10.

a very small number. In the reign of Hezekiah, when the country was invaded by the king of Assyria, the Jews seem to have had no force of this kind, for, said Rabshakeh,—'Now, therefore, I pray thee, give pledges to my lord, the king of Assyria, and I will deliver thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them.'*

In the primitive ages the warrior managed his charger with a rope or switch, and the accent of his voice; for the bridle was the invention of a more polished age. This was the practice of the Greeks, and of several other nations. To these the bridle succeeded, of which the most remarkable were those called *lupata*, having bits of iron, somewhat resembling wolves' teeth. Harness, which Pliny attributes to the inventor of bridles,† and which probably came into fashion about the same time, was made of different materials, as leather, cloth, or the skins of wild beasts. Parthenopæus covered his horse with the skin of a lynx; and Æneas, with that of a lion. Sometimes they adorned them with rich and costly trappings;‡ and put bells about their necks, and on their legs.

Mr Harmer says he has not met with any account of horses decked after this manner in the East; but the fact is expressly stated by Major Rooke, in his travels to the coast of Arabia Felix. When he was at Mocha, the Turkish cavalry had a field day in the great square, which, from the mode of exercise, called to his mind the idea of our ancient tilts and tournaments. The horses were sumptuously caparisoned, being adorned with gold and silver trappings, bells hung round their necks, and rich housings. The riders were in handsome Turkish dresses, with white turbans, and the whole formed to the Major a new and pleasing spec-

* 2 Kings xviii. 23.

† Natural History, lib. vii. cap. 56.

‡ Æneid. lib. vii. l. 275. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 11.

tacle.* Mr Burder traces this custom to the idolatrous veneration which the heathens of the East entertained for the sun, whom they called Baal or Bel, from his supposed dominion over all things; whence the word came at last to denote a lord, or master in general. He was considered as the author of vibratory motion, the source of musical sound; and such instruments as emit a sound by percussion, are called bells, from Bell or Bel, the name by which the sun was denoted among the Druids.

For the same reason, a bell seems in very early times to have been made a sign or symbol of victory or dominion. Thus, as horses were employed in war, and are celebrated in the earliest ages for their strength, stately port, and undaunted courage, bells became a part of their martial furniture.† The Jewish warrior adorned his charger with the same ornaments which the prophet foretels should in future times be consecrated to the service of God:—'In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD.'‡ Chardin observes that something like this is seen in several places of the East; in Persia and in Turkey, the reins are of silk, of the thickness of a finger, on which are wrought the name of God, or other inscriptions.§

The warriors of primitive times were carried to the field in chariots, drawn for the most part by two horses. The custom of riding and fighting upon horses was not introduced into Greece, and the regions of Asia bordering on the Hellespont, till some time after the Trojan war; for Homer, whose authority in such cases is indisputable, always conducts his heroes to

* Travels, p. 82. This custom obtained in Greece, as is evident from Aristophanes, who calls the artificers that joined the bells to the furniture of the war horses, κωδωνοφα αροπωλοι. Lib. 994.

† Burder, No. 1160. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 18.

‡ Zech. xiv. 20.

§ Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 277. See also Xen. Anab. lib. i. cap. 8, sec. 10.

battle in chariots, never on horseback. In what age the chariot was first used in battle, cannot now be ascertained; but by the help of the sacred volume, we can trace the practice to a very remote antiquity; for the aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan appear, from the number of armed chariots which they possessed, when Joshua invaded their country, to have been trained to that mode of warfare long before :—'And the children of Joseph said, The hill is not enough for us; and all the Canaanites that dwell in the land of the valley have chariots of iron, both they who are of Beth-shean and her towns, and they who are of the valley of Jezreel.'* This by no means intimates that the chariots were made of iron, but only that they were armed with it.† They had a kind of scythes, of about two cubits long, fastened to long axle-trees on both wheels; these being driven swiftly through a body of men, made great slaughter, mowing them down like grass or corn.‡ The efficacious resistance which the Canaanites, from their chariots of iron, opposed to the arms of Israel, is emphatically marked by the sacred historian :—'And the Lord was with Judah, and they drave out the in-

* Josh. xvii. 16. [There is an earlier notice than this of war chariots in the bible; for Moses informs us that Pharaoh prepared his own chariot, and six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, when he resolved on his mad and fatal pursuit of the Hebrews; Exodus xiv. 6, 7. The form of those Egyptian war-chariots can be fully ascertained by the sculptured figures on the monuments. Placed on very low wheels, they had no more accommodation for the occupiers than a wooden board, sufficient to admit of two persons standing. One of these was the driver, whose office was exclusively to direct the horses. The other was the warrior himself, who with his spear, or bow, took aim at the enemy as they hurried along. Sometimes, however, there was only room for a single person, and figures of this description of chariots are seen, in which the warrior, while his hands are fully occupied with his accoutrements, has the reins fastened round his waist, and by the adroit movement of his body directs the course, and regulates the speed, of the horses.]—*Editor.*

† Such chariots were by the ancients called *currus falcati*, and in Greek δρεπανοφυραι.

‡ Burder, No. 765. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

habitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron.'* The native princes of Canaan, fully aware of the great advantages to be derived from this species of force, in combating the armies of Israel, which consisted, as has been already observed, entirely of infantry, continued to improve it with a care and diligence proportioned to its importance. [In the time of Joshua, 'they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many.'†] In the time of the Judges, not long after the death of Joshua, Jabin, the king of Canaan, sent nine hundred chariots of iron into the field against the people of Israel.‡ In a succeeding war between this people and their inveterate enemies the Philistines, the latter met them in the field with 'thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore for multitude.' § [David captured from Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 'as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates, a thousand chariots;' ‖ and at a subsequent period, the same victorious monarch 'slew the men of seven hundred chariots of the Syrians.' ¶ The Hebrews, in consequence of the divine prohibition against the cultivation of horses as a part of their military forces, do not seem to have used war-chariots to any great extent. David, indeed, recovered a hundred out of the thousand he took from Hadadezer; and Solomon was the owner of one thousand four hundred. But these numbers, so much inferior to those which their enemies brought to the field, confirm the observation, that the war-chariots did not form a prominent part of the Hebrew forces; and, indeed, these were patronized by their princes and great men, more for state than for purposes of war. Among those people who employed

* Judges i. 19. † Joshua xi. 4. ‡ Judges iv. 13.
§ 1 Sam. xiii. 5. ‖ 2 Samuel viii. 4. ¶ 2 Samuel x. 18.

them as their chief resource, and their main strength in battle, they were commonly 'made of iron;' by which expression it cannot be meant, that the entire vehicle was composed of that metal, for then it would have been far too heavy for safe or convenient use; and, accordingly, most writers are agreed that they were either covered over with a plate of iron, in those parts which were most in danger of giving way, or that the description refers to the sharp scythes, which in many of them projected both from the sides and the nave of the wheels. It was these formidable instruments that chiefly did the execution; for as they were always driven with furious impetuosity, the ranks of the enemy against which they were directed were either mowed down by the terrible weapons which protruded from the sides, or were scattered and thrown into confusion by the resistless force with which they formed a passage for themselves. To the velocity of these movements, the sacred penmen have in various passages alluded, and borrowed from them some interesting and striking metaphors. For example, David, in a sublime description of the being and attributes of God, says that 'He maketh the clouds his chariots.'* Isaiah, when denouncing terrible judgments from God against the wicked, compares the chariots, in which He will come, to the sudden and irresistible fury of 'a whirlwind;'† and Habakkuk describes the Lord as riding triumphantly in the 'chariots of salvation.'‡]

The chariots of princes and heroes were contrived both for service and ornament, being richly embossed with gold and other metals.§ The chariots of Solo-

* Psalm civ. 3. † Isaiah lxvi. 15. ‡ Hab. iii. 8.

§ Homer adorned the chariot of Rhesus with a profusion of gold and silver:

Ἄρμα δε οἱ χρυσω τε και αργυρω ευ ησκηται.
Il. lib. x. l. 438.

'The chariot of Diomed he ornamented with gold and tin.'

Ἅρματα τε χρυσω πεπυκασμενα, κασσιτερωτε.

'And furnished Lycaon's chariot with splendid curtains, expanded like the wings of a bird.'—*Iliad*, lib. xiii. et lib. xv.

mon, by far the richest and most magnificent sovereign of his time, were certainly finished in a style of elegance corresponding with the wealth and taste of the royal owner. It is in allusion to these, that the mystical chariot of the everlasting gospel is thus described:—'King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon. He made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold, the covering of it of purple, the midst thereof being paved with love, for the daughters of Jerusalem.' *

The Scriptures furnish us with very little information relating to the military evolutions of the Hebrews, the form of their battalions, or the general order of battle, although they frequently speak of troops in battle array. The manner of their encamping, and the order of their march in the wilderness, are minutely described by Moses, and furnish a noble example of military arrangement. The number of this prodigious multitude was known by exact lists; each man was set down in his tribe; each tribe in its quarter under one of the four divisions, according to the order of birth-right among the patriarchs, and the quality of their mothers. They marched by sound of trumpet, always in the same order; and always quartered in the same situation about the tabernacle of the covenant, which was the centre of the camp.† When the first alarm was given by sound of trumpet, the camps on the east side struck their tents and commenced their march: when the second alarm was given, the camps on the south side took their journey; every division moved in its turn by the mandate of God to his servant Moses. Every tribe was placed under the command of its own prince; and followed its own standard, which was carried by a standard-bearer at the head of the column. 'In the first place went the standard of the camp

* Song iii. 9, 10.

† As the king's spear stuck at his bolster was in later times.—*Editor.*

of the children of Judah according to their armies: and over his host was Nahshon the son of Amminadab,' and in their rear, the hosts of Issachar and Zebulon. 'Then the tabernacle was taken down, and the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, set forward bearing the tabernacle.' Then the standard of the camp of Reuben set forward, followed by the hosts of Simeon and Gad, under their respective princes. Then the Kohathites set forward, bearing the sanctuary; and the bearers of the tabernacle set it up in their next encampment, by the time they arrived. Then the armies of Ephraim, followed by those of Manasseh and Benjamin, began their march. Then the standard of Dan set forward, followed by the hosts of Asher and Naphtali, bringing up the rear of all the tribes.* Every station, and movement, and time of marching, was fixed by express command; and, in this admirable order, that immense multitude traversed the desert forty years, without the least confusion or inconvenience, from the countless numbers which crowded their camps. From this account, it will be evident, that the way of encamping, and every thing else that we admire with so much reason in the Greeks and Romans, was taken from the ancient models of the orientals, and particularly from the divinely appointed arrangements of the ancient Hebrews.

In the primitive ages, the arms of the warrior were made of brass, which seems to have been the only metal with which they were acquainted.† This important fact is attested by Homer, who has been followed in this particular by all the writers of antiquity who give an account of those times. In the Iliad, the battle-axe was made of brass, and highly polished;‡ the arrow was headed with brass;§ the coat of mail was composed of brass;‖ the spear was made of brass;¶ in fine, the war-

* Numb. x. 14, &c.
† Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 20.
‡ Lib. xiii. l. 612.
§ l. 650.
‖ Lib. i. l. 371.
¶ Lib. iii. l. 470, 482.

rior is represented as sheathed in dazzling brass.* Plutarch states, that when Cimon, the son of Miltiades, conveyed the bones of Theseus from the isle of Scyros to Athens, he found interred with him, a sword of brass, and a spear with a head of the same metal.† The armour of the Asiatic nations was made of this metal, or profusely adorned with it, and polished into dazzling brightness, to strike their enemies with terror.‡ The gigantic champion of the Philistines had an helmet of brass upon his head; and was armed with a coat of mail of the same metal:—'The weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders.' But in those early times, the arts were more advanced in Canaan and other nations of Asia than in Greece, as they had discovered the method of smelting iron, and begun to employ it in the fabrication of arms in the time of Goliath, for his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron.§

The arms of the Hebrew soldiers are distinguished into two sorts; some of them being contrived for their own defence, others to annoy their enemies. On this subject Dr Potter remarks:—'The primitive Grecians, we are

* Lib. ii. l. 578.

† Langhorne's Plut. vol. i. pp. 39, 40. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples, since we are expressly told by Hesiod, that in those ages, iron was unknown; but that their arms, all sorts of instruments, and their very houses, were made of brass:—

Τοις δ' ην χαλκεα μεν τευχη, χαλκεοι δε τε οικοι;
Χαλκω δ' ειργαζοντο, μελας δ' ουκ εσκε σιδηρος.
Opera et Dies. l. 150, 255. Scutum Herculis, l. 221.

In Virgil, the whole field of battle gleamed with brass:—

'——— ac late fluctuat omnis
Aere renidenti tellus.'—*Geor.* ii. l. 280.

‡ The Massagetæ, a people on the confines of India, if not in reality Indians, had their axes, hatchets, spears, and even their horse-accoutrements, of the same metal. Herodotus, lib. i. p. 215. See also Maurice's Indian Antiq. vol. vii. p. 678-680.

§ 1 Samuel xvii. 7. Often adorned with brass. Opera et Dies, l. 423. Sometimes their arms were made of gold, or richly ornamented with that metal. Ibid, l. 182.

told, were better furnished with the former, whereas the barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter; the generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their enemies, while the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the dictates of human nature, to study how to preserve their friends; for which reason Homer always takes care to introduce his brave and valiant heroes well armed into the battle, and the Grecian lawgivers decreed punishments for those that threw away their shields, but excused those that lost their swords or spears; intimating thereby that their soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their enemies.'* These sentiments, however, were not, as this learned author supposes, peculiar to the Greeks; they seem, in reality, to have been derived from the oriental nations,—for Goliath, the champion of the Philistines, was covered with defensive armour, while he had only two offensive weapons, a sword by his side, and a spear in his hand; and not satisfied with what he carried himself, he had one bearing a shield, who went before him. The Hebrews were not less attentive to the personal safety of their warriors,—for when Saul accepted of David's generous offer, to enter the lists with the formidable Philistine, he clothed him 'with his armour; and he put an helmet of brass upon his head; also, he armed him with a coat of mail. And David girded his sword upon his armour, and he assayed to go.'† And although no censure was pronounced, and no punishment decreed in the law of Moses, against those warriors that threw away their shields, yet the prevailing ideas of military honour were such, that the loss of them was lamented by the Hebrew bard as a public dishonour.

The first piece of defensive armour entitled to our notice is the helmet, which protected the head. This has been used from the remotest ages by almost every

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 23.

† 1 Samuel xvii. 38, 39.

nation of a martial spirit. The champion of the Philistines had a helmet of brass upon his head, as had also the king of Israel, who commanded the armies of the living God. This martial cap was also worn by the Persians and Ethiopians in the day of battle. The helmet at first consisted only of the ordinary caps, quilted or lined with a thick padding of wool, for the better defence of the head. The Grecian helmets were very often made of the skins of beasts, frequently overlaid with plates of brass ;* but the helmet of the Jewish warrior seems to have been wholly made of brass or iron; and to this sort of casque only, the sacred writer seems to refer. [No authentic description has been transmitted to us of the form of the Hebrew helmets, although it is exceedingly probable that they bore a close resemblance to those of the Persians and Syrians, which were of a cylindrical or crown form, ornamented with crests of animal figures, horse-hair, or other kind of plume. In allusion to this piece of defensive armour, Isaiah, in his highly animated and poetical description of their spiritual Deliverer, represents him as 'having put on an helmet of salvation' upon his head.] In like manner Paul directs the believer to put on 'for an helmet the hope of salvation,'† which secures the head in every contest, till, through him that loved him, he gain a complete victory over all his enemies. That well grounded hope of eternal life which is attended with ineffable satisfaction, and never disappoints the soul like an helmet of brass, shall guard it against fear and danger, enable it patiently to endure every hardship, and fortify it against the most furious and threatening attacks of Satan and all his confederates. Such adversaries this solid hope is far more calculated to strike with dismay, than was the helmet of an ancient warrior in the day of battle his mortal foes, by its dazzling brightness, its horrific

* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 23. Adam's Rom. Antiq. p. 367.
† Eph. vi. 17: 1 Thes. v. 8.

devices of Gorgons and Chimæras, and its nodding plumes which overlooked the dreadful cone.*

Another piece of defensive armour used in those early times, was the breastplate or corslet: † with this Goliath was accoutred; but in our version the original term is rendered a coat of mail; and in the inspired account of the Jewish armour, it is translated habergeon. It was between the joints of this harness (for so we render it in that passage) that Ahab received his mortal wound by an arrow shot at a venture.‡ To this species of armour the prophet Isaiah alludes, where the same Hebrew word is used as in the preceding texts, but is here rendered breast-plate;§ and in the prophecies of Jeremiah it is translated brigandine.|| From the use of these various terms, in translating the Hebrew term *shirion*, it seems to have covered both the back and breast of the warrior, but was probably intended chiefly for the defence of the latter, and, by consequence, took its name from that circumstance.

The corslet was made of flax or of wool woven very thick, or wrapped in several folds of ox hide, of brass, or of iron. The metallic corslet consisted not of one solid piece, but of leaves, like the feathers of a bird,—scales like a pine or cone,—hooks, or rings, connected like the links of a chain, that the warrior might move in it with greater ease. The sides of it were coupled together with a sort of buttons or clasp, in the same manner as

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 26. [To enable the English reader to understand the allusion here made to Gorgons and Chimæras, we may remark, that, after metallic helmets had superseded the use of the primitive leather-caps, it was still for a long time the practice to surmount the top of the more durable head-coverings with the shaggy skin of some savage animal, the teeth of which were fiercely grinning, so as to strike terror into an enemy. These wild emblems, the relics of a barbarous age, were succeeded by the modern and more elegant crest.] —*Editor.*

† Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 26. ‡ 1 Kings xxii. 34.

§ Isa. lix. 17. || Jeremiah xlvi. 4.

the Roman lorica, which it nearly resembled.* This piece of defensive armour Goliath probably, and Saul certainly, wore, for the security of his person in the day of battle ; but it was not proof against the missile weapons of his enemies, for in his last engagement with the Philistines, he fell pierced by their arrows, through the rings of which his coat of mail was composed.

The breastplate is frequently mentioned in the sacred volume. It was properly a half corslet or thorax, defending the breast, as its name imports, but leaving the back exposed to the enemy. Breastplates were not always formed of the same materials ; some were made by the Egyptians, who first introduced them, of line or hemp twisted into small cords, and close set together ;† but these were more frequently used in hunting than in war. The most approved breastplates were made of brass, iron, or other metals, which were sometimes so admirably hardened as to resist the greatest force. Plutarch reports, that Zoilus, an artificer, having made a present of two iron brigandines to Demetrius Poliorcetes, for an experiment of their harness, caused an arrow to be shot out of an engine called *catapulta*, placed about twenty-six paces off, which was so far from piercing the iron, that it scarcely rased or made the least impression upon it.‡ These facts may serve to display the inestimable value of 'the breastplate of righteousness,' which the apostle recommends to the hearers of the gospel ; a piece of spiritual armour which the fiery darts of the devil cannot pierce. The scales of brass, which composed the breastplate of the ancient warrior, often reflected the light so as to dazzle the eyes of his antagonist, and strike him with terror.§

* Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 368.

† The thorax of Ajax, Homer describes as consisting of quilted linen.—*Editor.*

‡ Langhorne's Plutarch, vol. v. p. 352.

§ ——— 'Rutulum thoraca indutus, aenis
Horrebat squamis.'
'Dressed in his glittering breastplate, he appeared
Frightful with scales of brass.'

Not less formidable to the grand adversary of our salvation are the grace, righteousness, and true holiness of the genuine believer, in the unceasing exercise of which he spends his days.

The single plates being sometimes pierced through by spears and missive weapons, two or three were often placed upon one another, to render the breastplate a stronger defence.* In allusion to this improved breastplate, the great apostle of the Gentiles exhorts the Thessalonians to put on the breastplate of faith and love, whose *double* folds are necessary to defend the vital parts of the new man against the desperate wounds with which he is threatened by his spiritual adversaries.†

* Thus Virgil:—

'Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem.'

Æneid, lib. iii. l. 466.

'The threefold coat of mail beset with hooks and gold.'

[Sometimes there was a shirt of the same materials and workmanship attached to this, and suspended from the girdle down nearly to the knees.]—*Editor.*

† The following are the observations of Dr Meyric, an authority on the subject of ancient armour, in regard to this part of the dress of ancient soldiers. After observing that the Hebrews in all probability borrowed the thorax, or corslet, from the Egyptians, he describes it thus:—'Beneath the breastplate were belts, plated with brass or other metal, and the uppermost of them was bound upon the bottom of the tunic, which connected the pectoral with the belts, and all of them together formed a tolerably perfect armour for the front of the whole body. These belts were generally two, one above the other, and appear similar to those that are represented in ancient Greek sculpture, though in some degree higher up. This mode of arming perfectly explains the passage in Scripture, where Ahab is said to have been smitten with an arrow, between the openings or joints, that is of the belts, and between the thorax or pectoral. The pectoral of the Egyptians was made of linen; and perhaps anciently that of the Jews was the same. In after-times, they seem to have been covered with plates of metal, and in the New Testament we meet with the words, "breastplates of iron," Rev. ix. 9. The military *sagum*, or cloak, is called in our translation a habergeon, but the original is of doubtful signification, and occurs only twice. But of whatever kind the garment may have been, it had an aperture at the upper part, through which the head was passed when it was put on the body. Strutt conjectures that it was the tunic upon which the thorax was put, and had the same relation to

The military girdle was another piece of defensive armour; it surrounded the other accoutrements;* the sword was suspended in it, as in modern times in the soldier's belt; and it was necessary to gird the clothes and armour of the combatant together.† This was so essential to a warrior, that among the Greeks, ζωννυσθαι, to gird, came to be a general name for putting on armour. Homer thus introduces Agamemnon commanding the Grecians to arm:—

Ατρειδης δε βοησεν, ιδε ζωννυσθαι ανωγεν.—*Iliad*, lib. ix.

'Atrides strait commands them all to arm, or gird themselves.' We learn from Plutarch, that the Romans had the same custom;‡ and it prevailed also among the Persians, for Herodotus relates, that Xerxes having reached Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger, λυε την ζωνην, loosed his girdle, that is, put off his armour.§ The same phrases occur in many parts of the sacred volume, the military belt being not less necessary to the Hebrew soldier, on account of his loose and flowing dress. To gird and to arm, are therefore synonymous terms in Scripture; for those who are said to be able to put on armour, are, according to the Hebrew Septuagint, girt with a girdle; from whence came the expression of girding to the battle. This was the species of girdle which Jonathan bestowed on David, as one of the pledges of his entire love and friendship. He stripped

the thorax that the ephod had to the sacred pectoral or breastplate of the high priest.—*Editor.*

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 28.

† Thus Homer:—

Λυσε δε οι ζωστηρα παναιολον, ηδ' υπενερθε
Σωμα τε, και μιτρην, την χαλκηες καμων ανδρες.
Iliad, lib. iv. l. 215, 216.

'He then unbraced his rich embroidered belt, and all his armour underneath it, which skilful smiths had fabricated.' Such also was the curiously embroidered belt of Nestor. Iliad, lib. x. l. 75.

‡ Atticis.

§ Lib. viii. cap. 120. In Turkey, the girdle richly embroidered, fastened before with broad golden clasps, is still in use. Lady Montagu's Letters, vol. i. p. 197.

himself, not only of his wearing apparel, but of what a warrior valued at a much higher price, his military habiliments also, his sword, his bow, and his girdle, which, like those worn by men of rank, would be highly ornamented, and gave them to David. [In like manner, Ajax, after his combat with Hector, made him a present of the girdle he wore, as a token of attachment.]

The girdle is mentioned by the apostle, in his particular description of the christian armour, addressed to the church at Ephesus :—'Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth.'* As warriors are accustomed to gird themselves with a broad belt to keep up their long garments, to bind them and their armour close together, and to fortify their loins, that they may be stronger, and more fitted for the labours and fatigues of war, so must believers encompass themselves with sincerity and uprightness of heart, and with truth and honesty of conversation, that righteousness may be the girdle of their loins, and faithfulness the girdle of their reins, that they may be steady, active, and resolute in every spiritual encounter.

The legs of the Grecian warrior were defended with greaves of brass, copper, or other metals.† Potter thinks it is probable, that this piece of armour was at first either peculiar to the Grecians, or at least more generally used by them than any other nations; because we find them so perpetually called by the poet (ευκνημιδες Αχαιοι) the well-greaved Achaians.‡ But they seem to have been equally common among the warriors of Canaan, and other eastern countries. When Goliath appeared in complete armour, and challenged the armies of Israel to furnish a man able to contend

* Ephesians vi. 14.

† They reached from the knee to the ankle, and they were fastened behind. They were at first worn, however, on the left leg, only as that with the left side was most exposed in the action, the buckler being carried on the left arm.—*Editor.*

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 31. Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 368.

with him in single combat, he wore greaves of brass upon his legs.* This piece of armour is also recommended by the apostle, in these words :—' And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.'† The soldier is wont to wear greaves of brass or a sort of strong boots, to guard his feet and legs against briars and thorns, the iron spikes which the enemy scatters in his way, and the sharp pointed stones, which retard his march; so must the heart and life of the Christian be disengaged from worldly thoughts, affections, and pursuits, that would hinder him in his heavenly course; and be filled with holy resolutions, by divine grace, to hold on his way, in spite of every hardship and danger, fortified against the many snares and temptations that beset him in his progress, and prepared for the assault, from what enemy or quarter soever it may come.

The feet were protected with shoes of stout, well prepared leather, plated or spiked on the sole, to prevent the combatant from slipping. Moses seems, at least, according to our translation, to have had some allusion to shoes of this kind, in his farewell address to the tribes :—' Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be.'‡ And the apostle Paul, in his description of the spiritual armour :—' Having his feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.' ' Not iron,' says Calmet, ' not steel; but patient investigation, calm inquiry, assiduous, laborious, lasting; if not rather with firm footing in the gospel of peace.'

The Hebrew soldiers used two kinds of shields, the *tsinna*, and the *magen*. From the middle of the tsinna rose a large boss, surmounted by a dagger, or sharp

* It is not improbable that Goliath, like other ancient warriors, was equipped from head to foot in metallic armour. The art of making the scaly accoutrements was carried to such perfection that they were not only perfectly flexible, but fitted so exactly as to display even the muscular parts of the body.—*Editor.*

† Ephesians vi. 15. ‡ Deut. xxxiii. 25.

pointed protuberance, which was extremly useful in repelling missive weapons, and bearing down their enemies when they came to close fight. A shield of this construction was partly a defensive and partly an offensive weapon.* The ancient bucklers generally covered the whole body.†

The magen was a short buckler intended merely for defence, and of great service in the warfare of those days. To these must be added the *sihara*, or round shield, which is still in use in the East, about eighteen inches in diameter; and these three differed from one another, nearly as the *scutum*, *clypeus*, and *parma*, among the Romans. The tsinna‡ was double the weight of the magen, and was carried by the infantry; the others, as being more light and manageable, were reserved for the cavalry. These different shields were also used by the Greeks.§

* Martial seems to allude to the tsinna in this line:—

'In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repellet.'

'Should you get into a crowd, your slave with his boss would repel them all.' Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 33. [In consequence of the boss in the centre being a small but powerful projection in the form of a dagger, to run against this was sure destruction; and hence Eliphaz, describing the madness of a sinner in contending with the Almighty, compares him to a weak and reckless assailant of a gigantic warrior. 'He runneth upon him, even on his neck, upon the thick bosses of his bucklers,' Job. xv. 26. On some shields these bosses were numerous. Thus Agamemnon's had twenty-one, the large one in the centre, and twenty on the circumference.]—*Editor.*

† Virgil represents the troops as standing close covered under their bucklers:

——— 'clypeique sub orbe teguntur.'

Æneid, lib. ii. l. 227.

And in Tyrtæus, the mighty buckler covered the thighs, legs, and breast, belly, and shoulders too.

Μηρους τε κνημας τε κατω, στερνα, και ωμους
Ασπιδος ευρειης γαστρι καλψαμενος.

‡ This is evident from the quantity of metal used in its construction. 'Six hundred shekels of gold went to one tsinna, whereas three hundred only were necessary to compose one magen;' 1 Kings x. 6.—*Editor.*

§ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii, p. 33-35.

[Various allusions are made in Scripture to this important piece of armour. The Lord describes, under this metaphor, the constant and special protection he extends over his people :—'Fear not Abraham ; I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward.'] The holy Psalmist often mentions this weapon in the songs of Zion, to signify the complete protection which he expected from above, which he so largely experienced, and in which he wholly trusted. In that sublime ode which he sung in the day that the Lord delivered him from the power of all his enemies, we find this passage :—'The Lord is my buckler, and the horn of my salvation.'* He had been long accustomed to contemplate the character of God under this most expressive figure ; for while he wandered in exile, far from the courts of the tabernacle, where so much of his happiness was placed, we find him pouring out his soul in these strains :—'Behold, O God, our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed ; for the Lord God is a sun and shield ; the Lord will give grace and glory ; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.'† The great apostle of the Gentiles earnestly recommends this weapon among others, to the use of the churches under the present dispensation :—'Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.'‡ The shield is of primary importance in the day of battle, because it covers the whole person ; [to which the Psalmist alludes metaphorically, when he says,—Thou Lord, wilt bless the righteous ; with favour wilt thou encompass him, as with a shield.§] Or, if too small for this, may be turned every way for the defence of one or another part of the body, and of their other accoutrements, which may be most exposed to danger, and for warding off the sharp and poisoned arrows of the enemy. In the spiritual warfare, a true and lively

* Psa. xviii. 2.
† Psalm lxxxiv. 9-11.
‡ Eph. vi. 14.
§ Psalm v. 12.

faith in Christ, the believer's shield in every age; in his blood and righteousness for every blessing of the new covenant; in his inexhaustible fulness of grace and mercy; and in the efficacy of his mediation in the midst of the throne, is not less necessary and important. This is the Christian's grand defence, which enables him effectually to refute and silence every charge of guilt; to repel every attempt of Satan to hurry him into sin; to disarm the force of those furious temptations or sudden suggestions, that, like poisoned arrows, penetrate and inflame the soul with horror, anguish, and guilt, wherever they strike. Behind the impenetrable covert of this shield the believer effectually resists the devil, and puts him to flight; he overcometh the world, and escapes from the pollutions of sin. 'The word of God abideth' in him, enabling him 'to overcome the wicked one;' and 'this is the victory that overcometh the world . . . even our faith.'*

[In form, shields were either round or oval. In marching, they were slung upon the back, by a leathern belt, which crossed the breast in a slanting direction;† and they were so large, as frequently to reach from the neck to the heels.] In consequence of their great size and weight, the oriental warrior had a person who went before him in the hour of danger, whose office it was to bear the great massy buckler, behind which he avoided the missile weapons of his enemy. Goliath had his armour-bearer carrying a shield before him, when he came up to defy the armies of Israel. When David went first to court, he was made armour-bearer to Saul; and Jonathan had a young man who bore his armour before him in the day of battle.‡ Besides the large and ponderous buckler, the gigantic Philistine

* 1 John ii. 14; v. 4.

† The Spartan women, who trained up and encouraged their sons to deeds of valour, used to tell them either to bring their shield back from the field of battle, or be *brought back* on them.

‡ This of course was only in marching; in close fight the warrior would hold it himself.—*Editor.*

had another of smaller size called *cidon*, which we render target in one part of our version, and shield in another. It might either be held in the hand when the warrior had occasion to use it, or, at other times, be conveniently hung about his neck, and turned behind; and, therefore, the historian observes he had 'a target of brass between his shoulders.' [In making an assault on the walls of a fortified place, a company of soldiers closely banded together, used, with the view of protecting themselves in that perilous service, to hold their shields, as they marched forward, over their heads, so closely, that behind this compact and impenetrable line of defence, the assailants were as secure as a tortoise under its shell. Hence, among the Romans, this military device obtained the name of *testudo* or tortoise; a device, however, which, like many other inventions, that celebrated people probably borrowed from the East, where it was resorted to at an early period; and, accordingly, in the predicted overthrow of Tyre, Ezekiel, in manifest allusion to this common mode of storming a city, describes the king of Babylon as 'making fort against it, and casting a mount against it, and *lifting up* the buckler against it.' *]

The shield was more highly valued by the ancients than all their other armour. It was their delight to adorn it with all kinds of figures, of birds and beasts, especially those of generous natures, as eagles and lions: they emblazoned upon its capacious circle the effigies of their gods, the forms of celestial bodies, all the works of nature,† or the achievements of heroes. They preserved it with the most jealous care. To lose it in the day of battle, was accounted one of the greatest calamities that could befal them, worse than defeat, or even than death itself; so great was their passion for what is termed military glory, and the estimation in which it was held, that they had a profound regard

* Ezekiel xxvi. 8.

† Iliad, lib. xi. l. 30; et lib. xviii. l. 475–607. Æneid, viii.

for all sorts of arms, the instruments by which they attained it; and to leave them in the hands of their enemies, to give them for a pledge, or dispose of them in a dishonourable way, was an indelible disgrace, both in Greece and at Rome, for which they could hardly ever atone.*

But these sentiments were not confined to Greece and Rome; among no people were they carried higher than among the Jews. To cast away the shield in the day of battle, they counted a national disgrace, and a fit subject for public mourning. This affecting circumstance was not omitted in that beautiful elegy, which David, a brave and experienced soldier, composed on the death of Saul and the loss of his army:—'The shield of the mighty was vilely cast away.' On that fatal day, when Saul and the flower of Israel perished on the mountains of Gilboa, many of the Jewish soldiers, who had behaved with great bravery in former battles, forgetful of their own reputation and their country's honour, threw away their shields, and fled from the field. The sweet singer of Israel adverts to that dishonourable conduct, with admirable and touching pathos:—'Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon you, nor fields of offerings; for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though he had not been anointed with oil.'† The apostle has availed himself of this general feeling, in his epistle to the Hebrews, to encourage them in the profession of the gospel, and in a courageous, firm, and constant adherence to the truth:—'Cast not away, therefore, your confidence.' Abide without wavering in the profession of the faith, and in the firm belief of the truth; and aim at the full assurance of the grace of faith, which, as a spiritual shield, should be sought with unwearied diligence, and retained with jealous care.

The ancient warrior did not yield to the moderns in

* Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 35. † 2 Sam. i. 21.

keeping his armour in good order. The inspired writer often speaks of furbishing the spear, and making bright the arrows; and the manner in which he expresses himself in relation to this part of the soldier's duty, proves that it was generally and carefully performed. But they were particularly attentive to their shields, which they took care frequently to scour, polish, and anoint with oil, for the purpose of rendering them smooth and slippery. The oriental soldier seems to have gloried in the dazzling lustre of his shield, which he so highly valued, and upon which he engraved his name and warlike exploits. To produce the desired brightness, and preserve it undiminished, he had recourse to frequent unction; which is the reason of the prophet's invitation:—'Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield.'* As this was done, not only to keep it from cracking, if it was made of bull's hide, and from rust if it was of metal, but to improve its polish and brightness, so it was covered with a case, when it was not in use, to preserve it from becoming rusty. This is the reason why the prophet says:—'Kir† uncovered the shield.' The words of David already quoted from his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, may refer to this practice of anointing the shield, rather than anointing the king:—'The shield of the mighty is vilely cast away, the shield of Saul, as though it had not been anointed with oil:' the word *he* being a supplement, the version now given is perfectly agreeable to the original text.

The offensive weapons of the eastern warriors, like those of the Greeks and Romans, were of two kinds; those with which they engaged in close fight, and those with which they attacked their enemies at a distance.‡ In the first class, the sword has the strongest claim upon our attention; for, except the bow, it is the most ancient weapon on the records of scripture. [It was

* Isaiah xxi. 5.

† Assyria proper.

‡ Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 38.

by the sword that the dying patriarch predicted Esau was to live.*] It was with the sword that the sons of Jacob executed their cruel and indiscriminate vengeance on the people of Shechem;† and the weapon which Jacob himself used when he attacked and defeated the Amorite, as the dying patriarch incidentally mentions in a conversation with Joseph:—'Moreover, I have given thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword, and with my bow.'‡ It was also one of the weapons which Israel used in the wilderness, which they borrowed, rather asked, among other valuable articles, from the Egyptians, when they were ready to commence their perilous march, and with which the sacred historian informs us, they went up harnessed, or armed, out of the land of Egypt.

[Swords were at first made of brass or copper, the latter of which was wrought and applied to every domestic, mechanical, and warlike purpose long before iron.§ They were much shorter than ours, and were of various forms; the most ancient, probably because the most simple, was the dagger, like the short Arabian dagger, which, from time immemorial, has been universally used in the East. Those worn by the Israelites in the wilderness were, we may presume, fabricated according to the approved fashions they had seen in Egypt; and, like those described in the paintings and monuments, were a broad-bladed curved knife, somewhat resembling a sickle, while, in later times, the Hebrews seem to have used them of various sorts and sizes, particularly a straight tapering one, with two sharp edges, fitted both for slashing and thrusting, to which David alludes.‖] The sword, according to ancient custom, was hung in a belt put round the shoulders,

* Gen. xxvii. 40. † Gen. xxxiv. 25. ‡ Gen. xlviii. 22.

§ In the heroic ages of Greece, every part of the armour was of brass—the spear of Achilles, the sword of Memnon, the battle-axe of Piander.—*Editor.* ‖ Psalm cxlix. 6.

and reaching down to the thighs. It was suspended on the back part of the thigh, almost to the ground, but was not girded upon it; the horseman's sword was fixed on the saddle by a girth. When David, in spirit, invites the Redeemer of the church to gird his sword upon his thigh,* and the spouse says of the valiant of Israel, 'Every man has his sword upon his thigh, because of fear in the night,'† they do not mean that the weapon was literally bound upon their thigh, but hung in the girdle on the back part of it; for this was the mode in which, by the universal testimony of ancient writers, the infantry wore their swords. [It is still the practice in the East to wear swords in this manner, for Chardin informs us, that 'the eastern people wear their swords hanging down at length; and the Turks wear their swords on horseback, and on their thigh.' But in his poetical invitation to the Redeemer, to gird his sword upon his thigh, David manifestly points to some special occasion of solemn and official character; and a clear light is thrown upon his meaning by a custom to this day observed in the East. 'When a Persian or an Ottoman prince *ascends the throne*,' says Mr Morier, 'he girds on his sabre. Mohammed Jaffer, for example, was proclaimed by the khan, governor *pro tempore*, till the arrival of his brother, and was invested in this dignity by the *girding of a sword upon his thigh*, an honour which he accepted with a reluctance perhaps not wholly feigned.'—'This ceremony,' says Dr Davy, giving an account of an eastern coronation, 'remained to be performed before the prince could be considered completely king—it was that of choosing a new name, and putting on the regal sword. The prince went in great state to the temple, where he presented offerings, and then, the sword having been girded on his thigh, the priest presented a pot of sandal-powder, in which the prince, who *may now be called* king, dipped his fingers.' From these anecdotes, it is evident girding a

* Psalm xlv. 3. † Song iii. 8.

sword on the thigh is part of the ceremony of royal inauguration ; and that, when the Psalmist addresses the Messiah, he refers to his receiving the honours and powers of the Lord of all.] The sword is by a figure of speech employed to signify the keen and piercing words of an enemy. 'His words,' says the Psalmist, 'were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords :'* and again, 'swords are in their lips ; for who *say they* doth hear.'—'I lie even among the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword.'†—['Hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked, who whet their tongue like a sword.'‡] Solomon uses the same comparison in one of his proverbs : —'There is that speaketh like the piercing of a sword.'§ These allusions seem to be justified by real occurrences ; for Thevenot informs us, that the Turks sometimes fight, having a naked sword between their teeth, and a musket in their hands.|| The apostle John perhaps alludes to such an incident, in that bold, poetical image : —'Out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword ;'¶ his words pierced the heart of his enemies, filled them with terror, awed them into submission. [The apostle Paul, in allusion to the sharp point, uses it metaphorically for any severe affliction or grief :—'Some have pierced themselves through with many sorrows.' And

* Psalm lv. 21. † Psalm lvii. 4. ‡ Psalm lxiv. 2.

§ Proverbs xii. 18. This can scarcely be called a figure of speech, inasmuch as it is a common conversational phrase among the orientals. Thus they say of a speaker, his words are nails. I have heard all he has to say, and the effect on my mind is like a nail driven in. When a Khan, or governor, is proclaimed, all the people cry out, 'his word shall be a sword.' Roberts' Oriental Illustrations, p. 385. Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, vol. i. p. 350. 'The words of that judge are like goads in my side.' The figure has been frequently imitated by the poets. Thus Aristophanes, speaking of Pericles, says,

——— 'His powerful speech
Pierced the hearer's soul, and left behind
Deep in its bosom its keen point infixed.'

And Shakespeare :—

'I'll speak daggers to her.'—*Editor.*

|| Travels, part i. p. 229. ¶ Rev. i. 16.

so also in that pathetic address of Simeon to the mother of Jesus, ‘ A sword shall pierce through thine own soul also.’*]

Close to the scabbard was hung a dagger or poniard, which was seldom used in fight, but on all occasions supplied the want of a knife.† On one occasion, however, Ehud, a judge of Israel, used this weapon with terrible effect against the oppressor of his nation. His dagger, it would appear, was literally girded upon his thigh, under his raiment; but this was for the purpose of concealment, and, by consequence, furnishes no example of the way in which it was commonly worn. [It is said to have been hung on his right thigh, whence many commentators have inferred that it was the common practice to wear it on that side. But they overlook the circumstance of Ehud’s being a Benjamite, and, consequently, capable, as many of them were, of using either hand with equal dexterity.

The metaphorical allusions to the sword in scripture are almost innumerable. The Almighty himself, in reference to the special overruling providence he exercised over the Israelites for their protection, and the discomfiture of their enemies, is called the ‘ sword of their excellency.’‡ In displaying his justice in the punishment of the guilty, He is described as wielding a sword, and the means by which that punishment is carried into execution are sometimes referred to in the same figurative style. Thus the Psalmist prays, ‘ Deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword.’§ Thus Isaiah, predicting the judgments which God would bring upon the enemies of his church, says, ‘ My sword

* Luke ii. 35. 1 Tim. vi. 10.

† This is evident from a passage in the third Iliad :—

Ατρειδης δε ερυσσαμενος ξιφος αργυροηλον, etc.
l. 361.

‘Drawing his dagger, which was alway put close by his sword, Atrides straightway cut some hairs from the lambs’ heads.’

‡ Deut. xxxiii. 29. § Psalm xvii. 13.

shall be bathed in heaven: behold, it shall come down upon Idumea, and upon the people of my curse, to judgment. The sword of the Lord is filled with blood; it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams: for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, and a great slaughter in the land of Idumea.'* Thus also in Jeremiah, 'The spoilers are come upon all high places through the wilderness: for the sword of the Lord shall devour from the one end of the land even to the other end of the land.'† The word of God is frequently styled a sword, and from its omnipotent power, of subduing corrupt affections, and penetrating to the latent principles of men, as 'a two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'‡]

One of the principal offensive weapons used by the ancients in later ages, was the spear or pike, the body of which was made of wood.§ The head was at first pointed with horn, flint, or fish bone, but afterwards it terminated in metal,‖ as was also the transverse point at the bottom, which, being thrust into the ground, upheld the spear in its erect position, when the soldiers rested from the toils of war.¶

* Isaiah xxxiv. 5, 6. † Jer. xii. 12.

‡ Eph. vi. 17. Heb. iv. 12. 2 Sam. ii. 23. Of another beautiful passage in Isaiah, describing the happy prevalence of universal peace under the metaphor of men 'beating their swords into plough-shares,' an illustration is given in page 119 of the first volume of this new issue.—*Editor.*

§ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 36. Hector's spear was full sixteen feet in length, its head of shining brass, with a ring of gold. Iliad, lib. viii. l. 495.

‖ Hence we read frequently in scripture of the glittering spear, Habak iii. 11. Nahum iii. 3.—*Editor.*

¶ Homer, speaking of Diomede's followers, says:—

——— αμδφι δ' εταιροι
Ευδον. υπο κρασιν δ' εχον ασπιδας. εγχεα δε σφιν, etc.
Il. lib. x. l. 151.

'They found him without before the tent, with his arms, and his

At an early period, this was common in Palestine and other nations in the East; for, when David went down to reconnoitre the camp of Saul, he found him, like Diomede, fast asleep in the centre of his army, and his spear stuck upright at his bolster.*

The ancients used two kinds of spears in battle; the first is the δορυ ορεκτον of the Greeks, with which they fought in close combat; the last is a species of missile weapon, the παλτα and βελη of the Grecians, which they threw at their antagonists before they drew their swords. In this way, Hector and Achilles, Menelaus and Paris, and the rest of Homer's heroes, uniformly began their attacks.† Both these weapons were used by the Hebrews in their combats with their enemies, for we frequently read in the sacred Scriptures, of the spear, the dart, and the javelin; with the former, they engaged in close fight; with the latter, they annoyed their enemies from a distance.

They endeavoured to check the progress of the enemy, and repel his distant attacks, by several kinds of darts or javelins, some of which they projected with the hand, others by the help of a strap girt round their middle. With one of these weapons, the king of Israel thought to rid himself of David, whose brilliant reputation he meanly envied, and whose rising popularity he weakly feared. 'And there was a javelin in Saul's hand. And Saul cast the javelin; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall with it.‡ And David

followers sleeping around him; their shields were placed under their heads, and their spears were fixed upright in the ground upon their brazen points.—The hero himself, reposed in profound sleep upon the skin of a wild bull.' Aristotle remarks, that the same custom was practised in his days among the Illyrians.—*De Arte Poetica.* Morier informs us, that, among the Persians, a spear stuck in the ground, at the bolster's head, marks, as in the days of Saul, the spot where a man of consequence reposes. Trav. vol. i. p 267.

* 1 Sam. xxvi. 7. † Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 38.

‡ The circumstance of Saul's always having a javelin in his hand is easily accounted for. Ancient kings constantly wore their sceptres in their hands; and those sceptres were no more than short spears or javelins. Homer, *passim;* also Justin. B. xxiii. ch. 3.—*Ed.*

avoided out of his presence twice.'* [These were very strong, and though violently projected against the wall, were formed of stout enough materials to survive the shock. Others, again, were more slender in their make, and terminated in a fine tapering point, about three or four inches in length ; the great recommendation of which was, they penetrated easily and deeply ; while their fragility, ensuring their falling in splinters wherever they alighted, prevented their being hurled back again by the enemy. Three of these sharp missiles Joab had in his hand, when he surprised Absalom hanging on the tree, and thrust them through the heart of that turbulent and profligate prince. It is by no means improbable that the long spear of the Hebrews resembled the modern spear of the Arabs ; and in that case, as the customs of the East are transmitted from age to age without change, the way of using it might be similar also. It is about twelve feet in length, and is seldom thrown except at a horseman who cannot be overtaken, and then it is only for a short distance. It is better adapted for hunting, at which the Arabs are very dexterous, not only in pushing it forward against an enemy in their front ; but when pursued, they can even, when riding at full gallop, turn round to flourish the sharp spike in the face of their enemy, so as to check his speed, and frequently succeed, by those back thrusts, in killing either the horse or his rider. It was in this way that Abner, when keenly pursued by the swift-footed Asahel, rid himself of his persevering enemy :—' He refused to turn aside ; wherefore Abner, with the hinder end of the spear, smote him under the fifth rib, that the *spear came* out behind him ; and he fell down dead there.'†]

The battle-axe, if we may judge from Homer's description of battles, was often carried to the field by the primitive Greeks.‡ With this terrible weapon,

* 1 Samuel xviii. 10, 11. † 2 Samuel ii. 23.
‡ Iliad, lib. xiii. l. 611 ; et lib. xiv. l. 710.

the ancient combatant endeavoured to hew in pieces, as well the armour of his antagonist, which he could not penetrate with his spear or javelin, as the antagonist himself.* The axe was also used by the Persians, in the early period of their history.† This assertion is confirmed by the prophet, who mentions the weapon, and its principal use in fight :—'Thou art my battle-axe and weapons of war; for with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms; and with thee will I break in pieces the horse and his rider; and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and his rider.'‡

The bow is the first weapon mentioned in the holy Scriptures, and seems to have been quite familiar to the immediate descendants of Abraham. 'Take,' said Isaac, 'thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison.'§ Here, indeed, the reference is to hunting; but we learn from the remark of Jacob to his favourite son, that the weapon which was found so useful in his art, was soon turned against our species; and it still continues to maintain its place in some countries, among the instruments of human destruction.

We learn from Homer, that the Grecian bow was at first made of horn, and tipt with gold. But the material of which it was fabricated, seems, for the most part, to have been of wood, which the workman frequently adorned with gold and silver. One of these ornamented weapons procured for Apollo, a celebrated Cretan, the significant name of Αργυροτοξος, the bearer of the silver-studded bow.‖ But the Asiatic warrior often used a bow of steel or brass, which, on account of its great stiffness, he bent with his foot. Those

* See also Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 40.

† Cyropæd. lib. ii. p. 85. ‡ Jer. li. 20, 21.

§ There is a still earlier reference to the bow in sacred history. When Ishmael was expelled from his father's tent 'he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer,' Gen. xxi. 20,—*Editor.*

‖ Iliad, lib. iv. l. 105.

that were made of horn or wood probably required to be bent in the same way; for the Hebrew always speaks of treading his bow, when he makes ready for the battle; and to tread and bend the bow are in all the writings of the Old Testament convertible phrases.* The bow of steel is distinctly mentioned by the Hebrew bard :—'He teaches my hands to war, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine arms.'† This was a proof of great strength, and of uncommon success in war, which he ascribes with equal piety and gratitude to the infinite power and goodness of Jehovah. To bend the bow, was frequently proposed as a trial of strength. After Ulysses had bent his horn bow, which all the suitors of Penelope had tried in vain, he boasted to his son Telemachus of the deed, because it was an undeniable proof that he had not lost his ancient vigour, in which he was accustomed to glory.‡ Herodotus relates, that, when Cambyses sent his spies into the territories of Ethiopia, the king of that country, well understanding the design of their visit, thus addressed them:--'When the Persians can easily draw bows of this largeness, then let them invade the Ethiopians.' He then unstrung the bow, and gave it to them to carry to their master.§ The Persians themselves, according to Xenophon, carried bows three cubits in length.‖ If these were made of steel or brass, which are both mentioned in the sacred volume, and of a thickness proportioned to their length, they must have been very dangerous weapons even in close fight; and as such they are represented by Zophar, who, describing the certain destruction of the wicked, says, the bow of steel shall strike him through ; and by the prophet

* Speaking more strictly, what our translators have rendered bent, is literally in the Hebrew, '*trodden.*' Archers with us merely plant their foot against the end that rests on the ground: the ancients put their foot *upon* the extremity, which was a little curved. —*Editor.*

† Psalm xviii. 34.

‡ Odyssey, lib. xxi. l. 409.

§ Lib. iii. c. 1. sec. 21.

‖ Anab. lib. iv. c. 2, sec. 28.

Isaiah, ‘ Their bows also shall dash the young men in pieces ; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb ; their eye shall not spare children.’* In time of peace, or when not engaged with the enemy, the oriental warriors carried their bow in a case, sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather, hung to their girdles, as they did their quiver also, which was slung at their back, so as to be within reach of the hand. When it was taken from the case, it was said, in the language of Habakkuk, to be ‘ made quite naked.’†

[Although the incidental notices that occur in the sacred history prove the bow to have been familiar to the Hebrews from a very early period, it does not appear to have been much used as a military weapon till after the fatal battle of Gilboa. The disasters of that eventful field were attributed mainly to the great superiority of the enemy in that species of force, for it is expressly said, that the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers hit him, and he was sore wounded of the archers. No sooner was his successor, therefore, firmly established on the throne, than he directed the energies of his powerful and warlike mind to introduce, among other improvements in military discipline, his subjects to a better acquaintance with the practice of archery, in which fatal experience had shown they were greatly inferior to their restless neighbours ; and, accordingly, we find, that in the subsequent wars of the Israelites, archers always formed an important part of the national forces. These were composed, however, almost entirely of Benjamites, with the exception of the tribe of Ephraim, who likewise distinguished themselves so much by their skill in the discharge of missiles, that their failure on one occasion is recorded as a remarkable and distressing occurrence :—‘ The children of Ephraim being armed, and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle.’‡

* Isaiah xiii. 18.
† Chap. iii. 9. Potter’s Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 41. ‡ Ps. lxxviii. 9.

[The only foreigners mentioned in sacred history as eminent for their skill in archery are the Persians, who were indebted for their triumph over Babylon chiefly to their superiority in the number and skill of their bowmen :—'Lo, I will raise and cause to come up against Babylon, an assembly of great nations from the north country, and they shall set themselves in array against her : from thence she shall be taken ; their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man : none shall return in vain. Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about. All ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows, for she hath sinned against the Lord. Call together all the archers against Babylon : all ye that bend the bow, camp against it round about. Behold a people shall come from the north, and a great nation, they shall hold the bow ; every man put in array against thee, O daughter of Babylon.'*]

The arrows were usually made of light wood, with a head of brass or iron, which was commonly barbed. Sometimes they were armed with two, three, or four hooks. The heads of arrows were sometimes dipped in poison, [to which distinct allusion is made by Job,† who, speaking of his afflictions, says, 'the arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit.'‡] They were used by many other nations in different parts of the world ; and if we believe the reports of modern travellers, these cruel weapons are not yet laid aside by some barbarous tribes. The negroes in the countries of Bornou and Soudan fight

* Jeremiah l. 9, 14, 29, 42. † Job vi. 4.

‡ An art in which one of Virgil's heroes was eminently skilled :—

'Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
Unguere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.'

Æn. lib. ix. l. 772.

'Next Amycus, the destroyer of the savage kind, than whom none more skilful to anoint the dart, and arm its steel with poison.'—*Potter's Grecian Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 41. Horace mentions the *venenatæ sagittæ*, the poisoned arrows of the ancient Moors in Africa. —Lib. i. ode 22, l. 3. See also Odyssey, lib. i. l. 260.

with poisoned arrows; the arrow is short, and made of iron; the smallest scratch with it causes the body to swell, and is infallibly mortal, unless counteracted by an antidote known among the natives.* Everywhere, the poison used for this inhuman purpose was of the deadliest kind; and the slightest wound was followed by almost instant death.† [This fatal effect, however, does not always take place so soon, and whether it be occasioned by the slow and insidious nature of the poison, or proceed from a change of temperature, it has been a matter of observation, that the death of persons wounded by poisoned arrows, frequently does not take place till sunset. 'One of my Hottentots,' says Mr Campbell, 'was wounded by an arrow, which had been poisoned. A tame Bushman, who belonged to my party, told me, that when the sun was there, pointing to the bottom of the western horizon, meaning at sunset, he would die. In the evening, I watched the sun setting, at which time he immediately expired. A serpent,' continues the same writer, 'being cut in two at any time in the day, retains life in both parts till sunset, but no longer.'‡ On whatever principles this phenomenon may be accounted for, many travellers, who enjoyed opportunities of personal knowledge, have stated it to be an undoubted fact; and, if so, it throws light on the narrative of the sacred historian respecting the death of Ahab, who, the reader will remember, was wounded by an arrow, probably a poisoned one, which a certain man drew from a bow at a venture, and 'about the time of the sun going down he died.'§] From this statement it

* Burckhardt's Travels, p. 486.

† The poisoned arrow was called by the Romans 'Scorpio,' and it is alluded to in the book of Revelations:—'Their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man,' ix. 5. Every classical scholar will remember the journey which Ulysses took for the express purpose of purchasing poison for his arrows from a descendant of the famous sorceress Medea.—*Editor.*

‡ African Light, p. 64. § 2 Chron. xviii. 33.

will appear, that arrows were by no means contemptible instruments of destruction, although they are not to be compared with the tremendous inventions of modern warfare. We are not therefore to be surprised that so many striking allusions to the arrow, and the trodden bow, occur in the loftier strains of the inspired writers. The bitter words of the wicked are called 'their arrows;' 'their teeth are spears and arrows;' 'their tongue is an arrow shot out;' and the man that beareth false witness against his neighbour, is 'a sharp arrow.' But in these comparisons there is perhaps a literal meaning, which supposes a connexion between the mouth and the arrow. The circumstance related by Mr Park might possibly have its parallel in the conduct of the ancients; and, if it had, clearly accounts for such figures as have been quoted. 'Each of the negroes took from his quiver a handful of arrows, and putting two between his teeth, and one in his bow, waved to us with his hand to keep at a distance.'*

Some are of opinion, that 'the fiery darts,' concerning which the apostle Paul warned his Ephesian converts, allude to the poisoned arrows, or javelins, which were so frequently used in those times; others contend, that the allusion is made to those missile weapons, which were sometimes employed by the ancients in battles and sieges, to scatter fire in the ranks, or among the dwellings of their enemies. These were the πυρφορα βελη of Arrian, and the πυρφοροι οιστοι of Thucydides, the heads of which were surrounded with combustible matter, and set on fire, when they were launched against the hostile army.† [In consequence of

* Travels in Africa, p. 99.

† Arrian de Exped. Alex. lib. ii. Thucydides, lib. ii. c. 75. [A similar allusion is made by the Psalmist, where, speaking of the judgments of God, he says, 'He ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors,' or as the words may be literally rendered, 'he maketh his arrows burning.' The arrows were covered over with pitch and other combustibles; water poured on them only increased the flame, which set on fire every thing that was near it.]—*Editor.*

the great use the ancients made of arrows, many metaphorical allusions to them occur both in the writings, and in the highly figurative conversation, of the orientals. Brave and courageous young men are called the 'arrows of their parents,' from the ready and effective protection they afford to their families; and in some places the birth of a son is announced by an arrow being hung up before the house. In accordance with this strain of sentiment, the Psalmist says, 'As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man, so are children of the youth; happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.'*]

The lightning and other meteors, are, by a very beautful figure of speech, called in Scripture the arrows of the Almighty. In the ninety-first psalm, it evidently denotes the pestilence:—'Thou shalt not be afraid . . . for the arrow that flieth by day,' explained in the next clause, 'nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon day.' The pestilence, having received its commission from God, flies, like an arrow from the bow of the mighty, with amazing swiftness and force, to the destined victim, and none is able to avoid or resist the blow. The Arabs employ the same figure to denote the pestilence:—'Is not,' said Solyman, 'the pestilence God's arrow, which will always hit the mark?' The Turks, like their emperor, thinking it absurd to fly from the ravages of the plague, demand, in similar terms:—'Is not the plague the dart of Almighty God? And can we escape the blow he aims at us? Is not his hand steady to hit the person he aims at? Can we run out of his sight, or beyond his power?' But the exposition of this text rests upon higher authority than theirs; the Spirit of God himself applies the term to signify the famine, the wild beast, and the pestilence:—'When I shall send upon them the evil arrows of famine, which shall be for their destruction

* Psalm cxxvii. 4.

. . . So will I send upon you famine and evil beasts, and they shall bereave thee, and pestilence and blood shall pass through thee.'* [The Gospel, by the power of which the Redeemer subdues his enemies, and will obtain a triumphant victory over thē heathen, is called his arrows:—'Thine arrows are sharp in the heart of the king's enemies; whereby the people fall under thee.'† And the same metaphor is, with striking effect, employed by the Author of the Revelations:—'And I saw, and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him; and he went forth conquering and to conquer.'‡]

But one of the most common missiles in primitive battles was the large stone. Thus, in Homer, the commander-in-chief of the Grecian forces, after he had put his enemies to flight, pursued them with stones:—

Αυταρ ὁ των αλλων επεπωλειτο στιχας ανδρων,
Εγχεϊ τ', αορι τε, μεγαλοισι τε χερμαδιοισιν.

Il. lib. xi. l. 264.

In the fifth book, Diomedes knocks down Æneas with the same rude weapon, and broke his leg. Ajax and Hector encountered each other in the same way; and the latter had his buckler shivered to pieces with a stone, scarcely inferior in size to a millstone.§ In one of their battles, the stones flew as thick on both sides as flakes of snow in the depth of winter.‖

This statement shows that the hints given by the inspired writers concerning the use of such weapons in Palestine, have nothing in them absurd or ridiculous, as they perfectly agree with the custom of ancient warriors in other parts of the world. The Hebrews appear to have attacked one another very often with these weapons; for in the Mosaic code we find this law:—'If men strive together, and one smite another

* Ezek. v. 16, 17. See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.
† Psalm xlv. 5. ‡ Rev. vi. 2.
§ See also Æn. lib. xii. l. 906. Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 46.
‖ Iliad, lib. xii. l. 287.

with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed ; if he rise again and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit ; only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.'* 'And if he smite him with throwing a stone, wherewith he may die, and he die, he is a murderer ; the murderer shall surely be put to death.' † Thus Shimei discovered the furious malignity of his heart, when he supposed the affairs of his sovereign were irretrievably ruined :—'He cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David ;' ‡ and the Jews testified their indignation at the reply of our Saviour in the same way :—'They took up stones to cast at him.'§ This conduct was evidently the relic of a very ancient custom, which had gradually fallen into disuse, as the policy and conduct of the warrior improved, till, among the Jews at least, it was confined to the movements of private rage or popular fury. But the use of stones in war was not entirely laid aside till many ages after the days of Homer ; the defenders of besieged places rolled them down with terrible effect upon the heads of their enemies, of which sacred history records an example in the case of Abimelech, before the walls of Thebez ; and in the field, projected them from engines of different kinds.

Among these instruments of destruction, the most common was the sling.‖ This weapon was managed with great art and dexterity by the natives of the Balearic islands, and still more so by the Achaians in Greece. They discharged bullets of various kinds, as arrows, stones, and plummets of lead, some of which weighed not less than an Attic pound, or an hundred drachms. After whirling it two or three times about their head, they disengaged the bullet with so great force, that neither head-piece, buckler, nor any other

* Exod. xxi. 18.
† Numb. xxxv. 17.
‡ 2 Sam. xvi. 6.
§ John viii. 59.
‖ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 48.

armour, was a sufficient defence against it; and so vehement was its motion, that (as Seneca reports) the plummets were frequently melted.* The arms, says Polybius, which the Achaians chiefly used, were slings. They were trained to the art from their infancy, by slinging from a great distance, at a circular mark of a moderate circumference.† By long practice, they took so nice an aim, that they were sure to hit their enemies, not only on the head, but on any part of the face they chose.‡ [The sling appears to have been introduced at an early period, as may be inferred, not only from the simplicity of the contrivance, which would naturally suggest itself as an obvious and easy means of increasing the momentum of a stone, but also from the allusion made to it in the patriarchal book of Job.] The Benjamites appear to have attained a degree of skill and accuracy not inferior to the Achaians; for the sacred historian states, that 'they could sling stones to an hair's-breadth, and not miss.'§ Seven hundred men of this tribe, says our version, were left-handed; the text should rather be rendered, *ambidexters*, for, in the first book of Chronicles, it is said, 'The men of Benjamin could use both the right hand and the left;'‖ that is, they did not constantly use their right hand, as others did, when they shot arrows or slung stones, but were so expert in their military exercises, that they could perform them with equal ease and certainty with their left hand as with their right.

When the Hebrews were besieged by their enemies, they erected engines on their towers and bulwarks, to

* Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 50.

† There is an ancient tradition, that, on those islands, mothers placed the food of their boys on a tree, or high pole, where it remained till they had brought it down by their sling. When going to battle they carried several slings with them for fear of accident, which, besides the one actually in their hand, were tied round their head and their middle. Those used for shooting at a distance were long; shorter ones were employed when the enemy was near —*Ed.*

‡ P. 125.

§ Judges xx. 16. ‖ 1 Chron. xii. 2; also Judges xx. 16.

shoot arrows and hurl stones; and when they sat down before a place with the view of besieging it, they dug trenches; they drew lines of circumvallation; they built forts and made ramparts; they cast up mounts on every side, and planted battering rams upon them, to breach the walls, and open a way into the city. These engines, it is probable, bore some resemblance to the *balistæ* and *catapultæ* of the Romans, which were employed for throwing stones and arrows, and were, in reality, the mortars and carcasses of antiquity. Josephus asserts, that Uzziah the king of Judah taught his soldiers to march in battalia, after the manner of the Macedonian phalanx, arming them with swords, targets, and corselets of brass, with arrows and darts. He also provided a great number of engines to batter cities, and to shoot stones and darts, besides hooks of different forms, and other instruments of a similar kind.*

Calmet describes 'an engine used for throwing very heavy stones, by means of a strong bow, whose circular arms are tightly held by two vertical beams, nearly upright; the cord of the bow is drawn back by means of a windlass, placed between two beams also, behind the former, but uniting with them at top; in the centre is an arm, capable of swinging backward and forward; round this arm the bowstring passes; at the bottom of this arm is placed the stone, in a kind of seat. The bowstring being drawn backward, by the power of the windlass drawing the moving arm, the rope is suddenly let go from this arm by a kind of cock, when the bowstring, recovering its natural situation, with all its power violently swings forward the moving arm, and with it the stone, thereby projecting the stone with great force and velocity.'

'Another machine for throwing stones consists of two arms of a bow, which are strengthened by coils of rope, sinews, or hair (women's hair was reckoned the

* 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

best for the purpose). These arms being drawn backward as tightly as possible, by a windlass placed at some distance behind the machine, the string of the bow is attached to a kind of cock, and the stone to be discharged being placed immediately before it, on touching the cock, the violent effort of the bow threw off the stone to a great distance.' The arms of this bow were of iron; which was the same as the *balista* of the Romans.

'Besides these kinds of instruments which were extremely powerful, others of smaller size, and inferior powers, were constructed for the purpose of being carried about; and these were somewhat like our ancient cross-bows; and the bow-string was drawn back by various contrivances, often merely by strength of arm, or by reducing the board that carried the arrow to its station, backwards, by pressing it against the ground.'

To a bow of this latter kind, our author, with great probability, supposes Jacob refers in his description of his son Joseph:—'But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands,' rather, alluding to the compound arms of the bow, the arms of its handles, 'were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob.'* 'As the arms of a bow of steel are strengthened by the coil of rope or hair, which augments their powers; whose elasticity—spring, is the very strength of the instrument, and on whose retention of this elastic power, depends the action of the whole machine; so God, by endowing Joseph with patience and self-possession under calamity and rough usage (compared to many discharges of the bow, which are calculated to diminish or exhaust its elasticity), supported him, maintained his piety, and at length rewarded it by prosperity.'†

The bow whose arms have been newly bound with rope or hair, but not with sufficient firmness to prevent the pieces of which they are made from slipping aside, would effectually prevent an archer from hitting the

* Gen. xlix. 24. † See Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

mark at which he aimed. 'Such a bow might well be called deceitful—not to be trusted.' To such an instrument the prophet Hosea seems to refer, in his complaint of Israel's apostacy:—'Though I have bound and strengthened their arms, yet do they imagine mischief against me.' They turn, but not forward; 'they are like a deceitful bow.'* [This phraseology will be much better understood by the fact, that the bow-spring, which, like the African bow in the present day, was composed of twisted horse-hair, or the entrails of animals, made into cat-gut, was so affected by the temperature, as to be often rendered useless. Moist weather, says Mr Campbell, renders it so soft, that they cannot shoot with it; should they try it, the string would either instantly break, or it would stretch to such a length that it would not impel the arrow. Were people using such bows for defence, and, unacquainted with this effect of moisture, in a time of danger, to seize their bow for self-defence, they would be grievously deceived, by finding them useless when most needed,—they would thus prove 'deceitful bows.'† Two passages of Scripture derive illustration from this fact. The Psalmist, speaking of the degenerate Israelites in the wilderness, says,—'They turned back, and dealt unfaithfully, like their fathers; they were turned aside like a deceitful bow.‡ And, in like manner, Hosea describing the character and state of the nation in his day, says, 'They return, but not to the Most High; they are like a deceitful bow.'§ Just as a bow deceives the eye with the outward appearance of being an efficient weapon, while, if more closely examined into, it may be found good for nothing: so the Israelites, though they renounced their idolatry, yet had not truly repented and turned to God. They had turned, indeed, from the worship of sensible idols, but they were still secretly devoted to idols of the heart, so that, in their

* Hos. vii. 15, 16.
† African Light, p. 179.
‡ Ps. lxxviii. 57.
§ Hos. vii. 15, 16.

religious character, they were a race of hypocrites and deceivers.*

[The different pieces of armour, which have been described, form the principal parts of the offensive and defensive weapons with which an ancient soldier was equipped. Besides these, however, and many other accoutrements of a minor description, there entered into the account, also, the baggage, the cooking utensils, and similar articles for personal accommodation, which necessarily accompanied the owner on every road; so that, even though made of as slight materials as possible, they would still amount to a considerable weight; but consisting of the substantial and massy furnishing which alone was allowed in the Roman empire, the burden which a foot soldier had to carry on his back during long and fatiguing marches, must have required no common exercise of strength and patience. 'When they (the Roman soldiers) march,' says Josephus, speaking of the soldiers engaged in besieging Jerusalem, 'they advance in silence, and in great decorum, each man keeping his proper rank just as in battle. Their infantry are armed with breast-plates and helmets, and they carry a sword on each side. The sword they wear on their left side is by far the longest, for that on the right is not above a span's length. The select body of infantry, which forms part of the general's life-guards, is armed with lances and bucklers, but the rest of the phalanx have a spear and a long shield; besides which they bear a saw, a basket, a spade, and a hatchet; they also carry with them a cord, a sickle, a chain, and provisions for several days; so that a Roman foot soldier is but very little different from a beast of bur-

* In the time of the apostles, a short sword, resembling the scimitar of the Persians, though terminating in a slight curve, was in use among the Jews. Armed with these weapons, the sicarii or robbers, who, towards the fall of Jerusalem, in great multitudes infested Judea, committed frequent murders; and it seems to be those infamous vagabonds who are alluded to in the history of the Acts, where mention is made of an Egyptian, who led four thousand murderers into the wilderness.—Acts xxi. 38.—*Editor.*

den.* 'The load,' says Dr Adam, 'which a Roman soldier carried, is almost incredible; victuals for fifteen days, sometimes more; usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes dressed food, utensils, a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a hook and leather thong for drawing water, a chain, a kettle, stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve, the whole amounting to sixty pounds weight, besides arms, considered there not as a burden, but as a part of himself.'† With so serious a weight, pressing for eight hours on the shoulders, any traveller would feel a journey to be tedious and irksome, even though he was otherwise free from all bodily constraint, and could regulate his pace and his stages at discretion. But for a man, labouring under such a load, which was an inseparable part of himself, to be confined in the close ranks, the unalterable step, and the stiff attitude of a regiment on march, to have to contend against the trying vicissitudes of the weather, and be obliged, at the same time, to sustain this arduous duty from day to day on a scanty fare, the preparing of which, moreover, was the necessary occupation of his hour of rest, was a service, requiring the union of bodily strength, and elasticity of mind, to a degree in which, it might be imagined, few would be found possessing them; and yet this hard discipline was what every foot soldier in the ranks of the Roman army was required to go through. He would have been degraded and dismissed as unfit for the service, if he had been overheard groaning with fatigue, or been observed bending under the weight of his viaticum; and those only were esteemed 'good soldiers,' who, without loss of appetite, or faintness of spirit, could 'endure the hardness' inseparable from a campaign. Under an allusion to the firm and unfaltering perseverance required of a Roman soldier, the apostle exhorts Timothy to be energetic in the maintenance of the christian warfare; and every one must perceive,

* Jewish Wars, vol. iii. chap. 5. † Roman Antiquities.

that, in the mind both of the apostle and his friend, to whom the exhortation was addressed, the metaphor carried an emphasis of meaning, far greater than a mere general idea of the laborious nature of a soldier's life suggests. The warfare which, as a christian bishop, he was called to maintain against the existing prejudices, as well as the natural corruptions, of men, required the exercise of vigorous resolution, constant perseverance, and much harassing exertion both of body and mind; and if his military oath of fidelity to his commander, and the honour of the service, demanded from every Roman in the ranks, to prove his title to be a soldier, by his power of undergoing great labours, much more the sacred course in which Timothy was engaged,—the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls,—were incentives which should animate him to 'endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'

[The selection of an associate is another circumstance necessary to be mentioned in connexion with the Roman army. It was not an optional thing, but the indispensable duty of every soldier to link himself in the bonds of close friendship with some brother in the ranks; and from the moment the choice of a companion was made, the regulations of the service placed them in circumstances of constant proximity, tending in the strongest manner to establish and perpetuate the friendly connexion. It was a wise policy; for as it was an inviolable rule in the Roman army, that no soldier was allowed to marry—a rule to which allusion is made in these words:—No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life,—is open to perplexity and distraction by family concerns, the constitution and laws of the empire wisely proceeding on the knowledge, that man is strongly inclined for society, provided, in debarring the military from family ties, that other friends and companions should be furnished to supply their place; and accordingly, every one was obliged, on entering the service, to attach himself to

some fellow-soldier, in whom, whether from being a relative or a native of the place, he was disposed to put confidence, and with whom he was to lodge, mess, sleep, and have all things common throughout the campaign. By being thus brought into a sort of family relation, their characters, habits, and tastes, became insensibly blended together, insomuch that they became a part of each other. The company of the one was necessary to the comfort and enjoyment of the other. They assisted in mutual duties, shared in mutual dangers, fought side by side of each other, and the courage of both was animated with an additional incentive, by the knowledge, that on the exertions of each depended, not his own life only, but that also of his bosom friend. These alliances, moreover, besides contributing so much to the personal enjoyment of the soldiers, when far away in foreign lands, were turned to the best account in the public service; for, whenever any hard or dangerous enterprise was contemplated,—a midnight sally, the storming of a city, or a forlorn hope, was needed,—the soldiers were drawn in pairs, and each was accompanied by his best and dearest friend. 'Through this arrangement, cowards were animated by the conversation and company of the bold; the weak were associated with, and leant upon, minds of a loftier and more vigorous mould; gratitude and affection were awakened in the bosom of some, by generous sacrifices made, or imminent dangers encountered in their defence; and messmates, whom years of free and familiar intercourse had made friends, whose love to each other was great, "passing the love of women," were often found lying alongside, or in the arms of each other; thus showing an affection which no death could sever, nor the grave divide.' * To this wise and most admirable arrangement in the Roman army, allusion is made by Paul, when he styles Epaphroditus 'his fellow-soldier,'—an expression which forcibly portrayed, not only the ardour

* Jamieson's Eastern Manners—Epistles.

of affection which glowed in the bosom of the apostle towards him, but also the zeal, faith, energy, and perseverance which distinguished the character of that individual, and rendered him one whom, whether in forwarding the work or sharing the dangers of the christian warfare, — whether in assisting him, or in readiness to undertake the greatest trouble to minister to his wants,—that greatest of the apostles regarded as his companion in arms.*]

Before quitting this part of the subject, it is necessary to direct the reader's attention to a body of soldiers among the Jews, that were distinguished by the name of the Cherethites and the Pelethites. These formed two distinct bands, whose duty it was to guard the person of the king. They were light armed troops; the Cherethites archers, and the Pelethites spearmen and slingers. Each of these two bodies had its own commander; and by being constantly near the king's person, they possessed great authority. They seem to have been the first soldiers among the Jews who served for pay.†

Under the commander-in-chief of the army were tribunes, who had each the command of a thousand men; these had under them ten centurions, each, as their name imports, commanding a hundred men; the next in rank were the commanders of fifties; and the lowest rank in the army were the commanders of ten. A secretary of war took an account of the number of troops in the army; and heralds attended the general for the purpose of declaring war, or treating of peace. The Hebrews employed spies to examine the country which they meant to invade, or the state of the army they were preparing to attack. It was in those days not less honourable to go as a spy into the camp of an enemy, than in modern times to reconnoitre the position of a hostile army; and the perilous duty was commonly undertaken by the commander-in-chief, or

* Philippians xi. 25. † Lewis' Antiquities, vol. i. p. 59.

some officer of high rank. Gideon, raised up by Jehovah himself, to lead the Hebrew forces to battle, went down, by the divine command, to the camp of Midian to examine their position, and procure the necessary information before he made his attack. Homer likewise represents Diomede as thus answering a command to penetrate the Trojan camp :—

Νεστορ, εμ' οτρυνει κραδιη και θυμος αγηνωρ, etc.
Il. lib. x. l. 220.

'Nestor, the heart and generous soul of a hero, prompts me to enter the hostile camp of the Trojans in our neighbourhood. But if any other hero will accompany me, it would inspire me with greater confidence and boldness ; for when two go together, one perceives before another what is proper to be done ; but one that is alone, though he should perceive, yet his purpose is more tardy, and his measures weaker and more indecisive.'

The choice of an associate was accordingly left to Diomede himself, who selected Ulysses, a leader equally famed for prudence and valour, with whom he instantly proceeded to execute his purpose. The similarity between this scene and the one in the book of Judges, must strike the mind of every reader :—'And it came to pass the same night, that the Lord said unto him, Arise, get thee down unto the host ; for I have delivered it unto thine hand. But, if thou fear to go down, go thou with Phurah thy servant down to the host, and thou shalt hear what they say ; and afterwards shall thine hands be strengthened to go down unto the host : Then went he down with Phurah, his servant, unto the outside of the armed men that were in the host.'*

Nor were the Hebrew soldiers unskilled in the stratagems of war. Every reader of the sacred volume must be familiarly acquainted with the admirable contrivance of Gideon, which, by the favour of Heaven, led

* Judges vii. 9.

to one of the most complete victories ever gained over the innumerable hosts of a proud invader.* A modern piece of Arab history greatly illustrates the defeat of the Midianites by that renowned captain. Achmed, an Arabian prince, contested with Bel Arab the imamship of Omar ; but, finding himself too weak at first to risk the issue of a battle, he threw himself, with a few soldiers, into a little fortress, built in a mountain, where he had deposited his treasures. His rival, at the head of four or five thousand men, invested the place, and would have forced the new imam to surrender, had he not quitted the fortress with two of his domestics, all three disguised like poor Arabs, who were in search of grass for their camels. Achmed withdrew to a town, a good day's journey from the besieged fortress, where he was much beloved ; he found no difficulty in collecting some hundreds of the inhabitants, with whom he marched against his enemy. Bel Arab had placed his camp between some high mountains near the fortress. Achmed, having ordered a coloured string to be tied round the heads of his soldiers, that they might be distinguished from their enemies, sent several small detachments to seize the passes of those mountains. He gave each detachment an Arab trumpet, to sound an alarm on all sides, as soon as the principal party should give the signal; measures being thus taken, the imam's son gave the signal at day break, and the trumpets sounded on every side. The whole army of Bel Arab being thrown into a panic at finding all the passes guarded, and judging the number of the army to be proportionate to the noise they made, was put to the rout. Bel

* Gideon's soldiers carried ' lamps' in their pitchers. ' Instead of lamps or candles,' says Dr Clarke, ' the orientals in the middle and lower classes of life, use splinters of wood, either of a naturally resinous substance, or daubed with some combustible materials. Gideon's lamps, it is probable, were of a similar kind ; and, from his soldiers serving at their own expense, the pitchers which each found so readily, were in all probability the chests in which their stock of provisions were sent to them from home.'—*Editor.*

Arab himself marched with a party to the place where the son of the new imam was keeping guard ; he knew Bel Arab, fell upon him, killed him, and, according to the custom of the Arabs, cut off his head, which he carried to his father.*

The king of Israel mentions another stratagem, which has been more than once successfully tried in the East. It is thus described by the sacred historian: —'And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now show you what the Syrians have done to us; they know that we are hungry, therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, when they come out of the city, we shall catch them alive, and get into the city.'† In the history of the revolt of Ali Bey, we have an account of a transaction very similar to the stratagem supposed to have been practised by the Syrians. The pasha of Damascus having approached the sea of Tiberias, found sheik Daher encamped there ; but the sheik deferring the engagement till the next morning, during the night divided his army into three parts, and left the camp with great fires blazing, all sort of provisions, and a large quantity of spirituous liquours, giving strict orders not to hinder the enemy from taking possession of the camp, but to come down and attack just before the dawn of day. In the middle of the night, the pasha thought to surprise sheik Daher, and marched in silence to the camp, which, to his great astonishment, he found entirely abandoned; and imagined the sheik had fled with so much precipitation, that he could not carry off the baggage and stores. The pasha thought proper to stop in the camp to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to plunder, and drunk so freely of the liquors, that overcome with the fatigue of the day's march, and the fumes of the spirits, they were not long ere they sunk into a profound sleep. At that time two sheiks, who were watching the enemy, came silently to the camp,

* Niebuhr's Arabia, p. 263. † 2 Kings vii. 12.

and Daher having repassed the sea of Tiberias, meeting them, they all rushed into the camp, and fell upon the sleeping foe, eight thousand of whom they butchered on the spot; and the pasha, with the remainder of the troops, escaped with much difficulty to Damascus, leaving all their baggage in the hands of the victorious Daher.*

It was the custom of the Greeks, before they engaged in war, to send ambassadors to the state that had given them cause of complaint, to demand satisfaction for the injuries which they had received; for it was an established maxim in their policy, that, however well prepared for war, peace, upon honourable terms, was always to be preferred. This custom of demanding satisfaction, and offering conditions of peace, had been transmitted to them from the founders of their commonwealth; for Statius, as quoted by Potter, relates that Tydeus went in the character of an ambassador from Polinices to treat with his brother Eteocles, king of Thebes, before he proceeded to invest that city. Nor was the Trojan war undertaken till conciliatory measures had been tried in vain; for Ulysses and Menelaus were dispatched on an embassay to Troy to demand restitution.† The equitable proposals of these ambassadors were rejected by the Trojans, overruled by Antimachus, a person of great repute among them, whom Paris had gained over to his party by a large sum of money.‡ Invasions, without notice, they considered rather as robberies than lawful wars; as designed rather to ravage the property of the innocent and unsuspecting, than to repair the losses they had

* Burder's Oriental Customs, No. 908. [A *ruse de guerre*, not unfrequently practised by a weaker party, was to kindle fires on distant peaks of the neighbouring hills, as if the camp extended so far in an unbroken line, and while the enemy were dazzled and misled by the lights, to effect escape under covert of the night. The apocryphal book of Maccabees gives an instance of this stratagem being played off by Demetrius, when hemmed in by Jonathan.] —*Editor.*

† Iliad, lib. iii. l. 205.

‡ Iliad, lib. xi. l. 124.

sustained, and prevent the renewal of outrage. Instances, however, occur of wars commencing without previous notice, even by nations of higher reputation for justice and humanity; but this was done only when the provocation was deemed so great, that no recompense could atone for it, no submission expiate.*

What custom enjoined on the Greeks, the law of God required of his chosen people: before they declared war against an offending neighbour, they were commanded to settle the dispute, if possible, by negotiation. Maimonides asserts, that, in obedience to this law, Joshua sent a messenger with offers of peace to the seven nations of Canaan, before he entered their country. And the most ancient Jewish writers agree with him, that Joshua sent three messengers to the seven nations before he invaded them, although he had undertaken to destroy them by the command of God; and those that accepted the conditions were suffered to retain their possessions. This account receives no little confirmation from the frequent notices respecting the remains of these people, which occur in the sacred Scriptures.†

But, whatever might be the law of war with regard to the seven nations, the people of Israel were bound to offer conditions of peace to the surrounding states before commencing military operations. The terms proposed were three: 1. That they should take upon them the observance of the seven precepts of Noah, and consequently renounce idolatry; 2. Pay an yearly tribute; 3. Become their subjects, and live in due subjection to them as their governors, who, though they could not make them slaves, might employ them in the public works. If the conditions were refused, every male, approaching to a state of manhood, was to be destroyed; but the women, and the male and female

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 64, *et seq.*

† Josephus' Antiquities, book iv. ch. 8, sec. 41; and book v. ch. 2, sec. 9.

children, were to be spared, while all the property of the vanquished became the booty of the victors.

The Amalekites were the only exception to this law; and the reasons for dooming them to utter destruction, are assigned by the inspired writer, with sufficient clearness and precision: — 'Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when thou wert come forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary, and he feared not God.'* That cruel and rapacious nation attacked the chosen people, when they were just escaped from a long and grievous bondage; when they had no country for the Amalekites to seize, and when, by keeping at a distance from their territories, they gave them no just cause of alarm. The phrase, 'he met thee by the way,' seems also to intimate, that Amalek sent no herald, according to the established custom of those times, to declare war, and to state the reasons of it; they fell upon them in a treacherous and cowardly manner, suddenly and without provocation; they did not offer them battle like a generous enemy, but hung upon their rear, and cut off the faint and the weary, that were not able to keep up with their brethren, but reduced to linger behind. Add to all this, that Amalek feared not God, who had given so many stupendous proofs of his power in Egypt and at the Red Sea, for the deliverance of his people, and who was still seen in the visible symbol of his presence, the pillar of cloud and fire conducting them through the pathless desert; all this they disregarded from a spirit of malignant hostility to Israel, and impious contempt of Jehovah, the God of that chosen and holy nation. For these reasons, the Amalekites were to be exterminated, not immediately, but after the Hebrews had obtained the quiet possession of Canaan. This injunction was never to be forgotten, but was to be imprinted deeply on

* Deut. xxv. 17.

their hearts ; for Jehovah swore, he would have war with Amalek, from generation to generation, till the remembrance of that devoted race was utterly blotted out from under heaven.

Aware of the dangers and calamities of war, ancient Israel were accustomed to perform very solemn devotions before they took the field ; and it would seem they had certain places particularly appropriated to this purpose. Samuel convened the people of Mizpeh, in order to prepare, by a solemn address to the throne of Jehovah, for the war which they meditated against the Philistines :—'And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord.' * At other times, they asked counsel of God by the Urim and Thummim, or by a prophet of the Lord. Such a custom was common in Egypt, when Pococke visited that country. Near Cairo, says that traveller, beyond the mosque of sheik Duisse, and in the neighbourhood of a burial-place of the sons of some pashas on a hill, is a solid building of stone, about three feet wide, built with ten steps, being at the top about three feet square, on which the sheik mounts to pray on any extraordinary occasion, when all the people go out at the beginning of a war, and here in Egypt, when the Nile does not rise as they expect it should ; and such a place they have without all the towns of Turkey.†

When they were resolved to begin the war, it was customary to offer sacrifices, and make large vows, to be paid on the success of their enterprise. Thus, when Darius invaded Attica, Callimachus made a vow to Minerva, that, if she would grant the victory to the Athenians, he would sacrifice upon her altars as many he-goats as should equal the number of the slain among their enemies.‡ Nor was this custom peculiar to Greece, but frequently practised in most other countries, of which the histories of Rome, Persia, and other

* 1 Sam. vii. 5. † Pococke's Travels, vol. i. p. 36.
‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 69.

nations, furnish many examples. It seems to have been of immemorial antiquity; for, when Jephthah accepted the command of his nation against the Amorites, he solemnly vowed to offer in sacrifice to God whatever should come forth from the doors of his house to meet him, when he returned after a successful termination of the war.*

After the troops were assembled, a public sacrifice was offered upon the national altar, which was succeeded by a martial feast prepared for the whole army; and to confirm their purpose and inflame their courage, a hymn to Jehovah closed the festival. The hundred and forty-ninth psalm was, in the opinion of Doddridge, composed on such an occasion; it was sung when David's army was marching out to war against the remains of the devoted nations of Canaan, and first went up in solemn procession to the house of God, there, as it were, to consecrate the arms he put into their hands. On that occasion, the devout monarch called on his associates in arms (verse 5) 'to sing aloud upon their beds;' that is, the couches upon which they reclined at the banquet attending their sacrifices, which gives a clear and important sense to a very obscure and difficult passage. To these military sacrifices and banquets the people were summoned by the sound of two silver trumpets, of a cubit long, according to Josephus, but like ours, wider at bottom. These were blown by two priests, as the law of Moses required; and they were sounded in a particular manner, that the people might know the meaning of the summons. Then the anointed for the war, going from one battalion to another, exhorted the soldiers in the Hebrew language, no other being allowed on that occasion, to fight valiantly for their country, and for the cities of their God. Officers were appointed to give notice, that those whose business it was, should make sufficient provision for the army, before they marched; and every tenth man was

* Judges xi. 31.

appointed for that purpose. This arrangement was made by a resolution of the tribes, recorded in the book of Judges :—'And we will take ten men of an hundred throughout all the tribes of Israel, and an hundred of a thousand, and a thousand out of ten thousand, to fetch victual for the people, that they may do, when they come to Gibeah of Benjamin, according to all the folly that they have wrought in Israel.'* Mr Harmer contends, that 'these men were not intended so much to collect food for the use of their companions in that expedition, as to dress it, to serve it up, and to wait upon them in eating it.' But, although the difference is not very material, the supposition that the tenth part of the army was to forage for the rest, is more natural, and at the same time more agreeable to the literal meaning of the text, which signifies to hunt the prey.†

When the answer of the hostile state was unfavourable, and encouragement was given to carry on the war, [proclamation of hostilities was made by the public and formal discharge of an arrow into the enemy's country. This was sometimes done by the general of the invading army in person ; of which an example occurs in the history of Alexander the Great, when that warrior, on his arival at the territories of Ionia, threw a javelin into the country of the Persians. But generally it was done by a herald, who, after sacrifice, advanced to touch with his foot the enemy's boundary-line, exclaiming aloud, We wage war, and immediately let fly an arrow. In conformity with this custom, when the Israelites were declaring war against the Syrians, Elisha said to king Joash, Shoot, and he shot : And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria.‡] The troops were

* Judges xx. 10.

† The reader will remember what was mentioned before, that there was no standing or regularly paid army, till late in the reign of Saul. The militia maintained themselves at their own expense. —*Editor.*

‡ 2 Kings xiii. 17.

encamped in the open field till the preparations were completed, and they were ready to march. The arrangements of the Hebrew camp were first made, as already remarked, by God himself. Every family and household had their particular ensigns, besides the great banner which they displayed in the midst of the army, under which they encamped, or pursued their march. How these banners and ensigns were distinguished from one another, we have no means of ascertaining. The later Jews allege, that Judah carried in his standard the figure of a lion, and Reuben the figure of a man; Ephraim of an ox, and Dan of an eagle; but these are merely the conjectures of a heated imagination, and are entitled to no serious attention. It is more probable, that the name of each tribe was embroidered on the standard under which they marched; or perhaps they were distinguished, as in some other countries, only by their colours. Mr Harmer is inclined to a different opinion; he thinks, the standards of the tribes were not flags, but little iron machines carried on the top of a pole, in which fires were lighted to direct their march by night, and so contrived, as sufficiently to distinguish them from one another. This is the kind of standard by which the Turkish caravans direct their march through the desert to Mecca, and seems to be very commonly used by travellers in the East. Dr Pococke tells us, that the caravan with which he visited the river Jordan set out from thence in the evening, soon after it was dark, for Jerusalem, being lighted by chips of deal full of turpentine, burning in a round iron frame, fixed to the end of a pole, and arrived at the city a little before day break. But he states also, that a short time before this, the pilgrims were called before the governor of the caravan, by means of a white standard that was displayed on an eminence near the camp, in order to enable him to ascertain his fees.*

* Harmer's Obs. vol. ii. pp. 278, 279, &c. Pococke's Trav. vol. ii. p. 33.

In the Mecca caravans they use nothing by day, but the same moveable beacons in which they burn those fires, which distinguish the different tribes in the night. From these circumstances, Harmer concludes, that, 'since travelling in the night must in general be most desirable to a great multitude in that desert, and since we may believe that a compassionate God for the most part directed Israel to move in the night, the standards of the twelve tribes were moveable beacons, like those of the Mecca pilgrims, rather than flags or any thing of that kind.' On this reasoning, the following remarks are offered :—1. The people of Israel and the Mecca pilgrims, were in very different circumstances ; the former did not need such fire beacons, because they enjoyed the light and direction of a pillar of fire, which, for any thing we know to the contrary, was quite sufficient to enlighten and guide the step of every one in the camp. 2. Flags were actually carried in the caravan to Mecca, beside the fire beacons ; for a white standard was raised on an eminence, to summon the pilgrims into the governor's presence. We may therefore suppose, that the many thousands of Israel might have their flags in the desert, to guide the motions of the tribes ; and this conjecture receives some countenance from the fact, that such ensigns have been used in the East from the remotest ages. 3. The chosen people were not under the same necessity of travelling in the night, because they were defended from the intense heat of the sun by the pillar of cloud, which was expanded like an immense curtain over their hosts all the day.

In our translation, the church represents her Saviour as the standard-bearer in the armies of the living God. 'My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand;' or, according to the margin, a standard-bearer among ten thousand.* These phrases are made synonymous, on the groundless supposition that a stand-

* Song v. 10.

ard-bearer is the chief of the company; for among the modern orientals, a standard-bearer is not the chief, more than among the nations of Europe. He is, on the contrary, the lowest commissioned officer in the corps who bears the colours. This, however, seems to be merely a mistake of our translators, in rendering the phrase *Dagul meribabah*. If we understand by the word *Dagul*, such a flag as is carried at the head of our troops, then, as the Hebrew participle is the pahul, which has a passive, and not an active sense, it must signify one before whom a standard is borne; not the person who lifts up and displays it, but him in whose honour the standard is displayed. It was not a mark of superior dignity in the East to display the standard, but it was a mark of dignity and honour to have the standard carried before one; and the same idea seems to be entertained in other parts of the world. The passage then is rightly translated thus:—My beloved is white and ruddy, and honourable, as one before whom, or around whom, ten thousand standards are borne.

The compliment is returned by her Lord in these words:—'Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah; comely as Jerusalem; terrible as an army with banners.' And again:—'Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, terrible as an army with banners?'* Mr Harmer imagines that these texts refer to a marriage procession, surrounded with flambeaux. But what is terrible in a company of women, even although 'dressed in rich attire, surrounded with nuptial flambeaux,' blazing ever so fiercely? Besides, his view sinks the last member of the comparison, and, indeed, seems to throw over it an air of ridicule:—Who is this that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and dazzling like a bride lighted home with flambeaux? The common translation certainly sustains much better the dignity of the last clause, while it gives the genu-

* Song vi. 4, 10.

ine meaning of *aim*, which, in every passage of Scripture where it occurs, signifies either terrible, or the tumult and confusion of mind which terror produces.*

[The standard of the Roman armies, which was totally different from that of any borne in any of the eastern nations, is minutely described by Meyrick as follows :—' Each century, or at least each maniple of troops, had its proper standard and standard-bearer. This was originally merely a bundle of hay on the top of a pole ; afterwards a spear, with a cross piece of wood at the top, some times with the figure of a hand above, probably in allusion to the word *manipulus;* and below, a small round or oval shield, generally of silver or of gold. On this metal plate, were usually represented the warlike deities, Mars or Minerva ; but, after the extinction of the commonwealth, the effigies of the emperors and their favourites. It was on this account that the standards of different divisions had certain letters inscribed on them to distinguish the one from the other. The standard of a legion, according to Dis, was a silver eagle with expanded wings on the top of a spear, sometimes holding a thunderbolt in his claws, hence the word *aquila*, or eagle, was used to signify a legion. The place for this standard was near the general, almost in the centre. Before the time of Marius, figures of other animals were used. The flag of the cavalry was, according to Livy, a square piece of cloth fixed to a cross bar at the end of the spear.' It was these standards, with the idolatrous figures inscribed on them, which were borne within the precincts of Jerusalem, and even of the temple, both of which were considered as ' holy places,' and to which, in derision of the Jews, they here offered sacrifice, that are described by the prophet Daniel, and afterward by our Lord, under the striking term of the abomination of desolation.]

The form of the Hebrew camp varied according to

* Harmer's Observations, vol. ii. p. 449.

circumstances. In the wilderness, it was of a quadrangular form, surrounded, say the Jewish writers, with an enclosure of the height of ten hands-breadth, to prevent the soldiers from deserting their colours. It was not a regular square, for the court of the tabernacle was in the midst of the camp, and the sides of that being unequal, those towards the east and west, of no more than fifty cubits length, but those towards the north and south, of an hundred cubits length, made the encampment about it also unequal. The distance of the camp from the tabernacle is reckoned to have been about two thousand cubits. This camp, the Jews say, made a square of twelve miles in compass about the tabernacle. Within this was another, called the camp of the Levites, whose duty it was to guard the tabernacle on all sides, that no profane foot enter its hallowed courts.*

* Josephus' Antiquities, book iii. chap. 12, sec. 5.

CHAPTER XIII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ANCIENTS, CONTINUED.

The encampments of Israel in Canaan seem to have been open and unguarded on all sides. When David reconnoitred the camp of Saul, the king 'lay in the trench, and all the people pitched round about him.'* The Hebrew term, *maagal*, never signifies a ditch and rampart, as our translators seem to have understood it, but a chariot or waggon way, a high way, or the rut of a wheel in the ground. Nor is it to be understood of a ring of carriages, as the marginal reading seems to suppose, and as Buxtorf interprets the word; for it is not probable that Saul would encumber his army with baggage in so rapid a pursuit, nor that so mountainous a country was practicable for waggons. It seems, then, simply to mean, the circle these troops formed, in the midst of which, as being the place of honour, Saul reposed.†

An Arab camp is always circular, when the dispositions of the ground will permit, the chieftain being in the middle, and the troops at a respectful distance around him. Their lances are fixed near them in the ground, all the day long, ready for action.‡ This was precisely the form and arrangement of Saul's camp, as

* 1 Sam. xxvi. 5. Iliad, lib. vii. l. 436.

† That this is the true meaning of *maagal* is evident from the root from which the word is derived, *aagal*, round.—*Editor.*

‡ D'Arvieux Voyage dans la Palestine, pp. 173, 174, 169.

described by the sacred historian.* As it is a universal custom in the East to make the great meal at night, and, consequently, to fall into a deep sleep immediately after it, a handful of resolute men might easily beat up a camp of many thousands. This circumstance undoubtedly facilitated the decisive victory which Gideon obtained over the combined forces of Midian.†

The most usual time of commencing military operations was at the return of spring; the hardships of a winter campaign were then unknown. In the beginning of spring, says Josephus, David sent forth his commander-in-chief, Joab, to make war with the Ammonites.‡ In another part of his works, he says, that as soon as spring was begun, Adad levied and led forth his army against the Hebrews. Antiochus also prepared to invade Judea at the first appearance of spring; and Vespasian, earnest to put an end to the war in Judea, marched with his whole army to Antipatris, at the commencement of the same season. The sacred historian informs us, that the bands of the Moabites invaded Judea at the coming in of the year;§ and elsewhere he seems to suppose, that there was one particular time of the year to which the operations of war were commonly limited:—'And it came to pass, after the year was expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle, that David sent Joab, and all his servants with him and all Israel; and they destroyed the children of Ammon and besieged Rabbah.'‖ The

* Neither the Scriptures nor the Jewish historian, ever speak of more regularly formed camps, like those of the Romans. Indeed their short campaigns and desultory mode of warfare rendered the defence of an elaborate encampment unnecessary.—*Editor.*

† Judges vii. 19. Orme's History, &c. Vol. iv. p. 419.

‡ Josephus' Antiquities, book vii. chap. 6, sec. 3.

§ 2 Kings xiii. 20.

‖ 2 Sam. xi. 1. [This is farther confirmed to have been in spring, by the fact, mentioned in the apocryphal book of Judith, that Holofernes led forth his army, which reached Damascus in wheat harvest, at the beginning of May; ii. 27.]—*Editor.*

kings and armies of the East, says Chardin, do not march but when there is grass, and when they can encamp, which time is April. But in modern times, this rule is disregarded, and the history of the crusades records expeditions and battles in every month of the year.*

Before the idolatrous nations of Syria and Palestine undertook a warlike expedition, or entered into battle, they endeavoured to bring down a curse upon their enemies, which should inevitably secure their overthrow. Influenced by an opinion, which long prevailed in those parts of the world, that some men had a power, by the help of their gods, to devote not only particular persons, but even whole armies to destruction, Balak sent for Balaam to curse Israel, before he would venture to attack their camp :—'Come now, therefore, and curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me; peradventure, I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I wot, that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.'† This was done sometimes by words of imprecation, of which there was a set form among some people, which Eschines calls the 'determinate curse.' Besides this, they sometimes offered sacrifices, and used certain rites and ceremonies with solemn charms. We discover evident traces of this custom in the conduct of Balaam, who built seven altars,‡ and offered on every altar a bullock and

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 476, 482.

† Numbers xxii. 6.

‡ From a persuasion of there being some mystical virtue in the number seven, that number of altars has always been built in modern as well as ancient times for this purpose. 'To these altars,' says Mr Roberts, 'the Indian priests withdraw by themselves, to offer incense, and slay the sacrifices, consisting of a buffalo, or a ram, and after some time the officiating one returns in a frantic manner, to declare what will be the result of the battle; should the answer be favourable, he takes a portion of ashes, and throwing them in the direction of the enemy, pronounces upon them the most horrid imprecations.'—*Editor.*

a ram, in the vain hope of procuring an alteration in the purposes of the Most High; and when his hopes were disappointed in one place, he removed to another, renewing his sacrifices and incantations, supposing he might find some position where God might be more favourable to his wishes. It appears also from the history of the transaction, that Balaam did not rely for success merely on the number and quality of his oblations, but, in his eagerness to merit the splendid rewards of Balak, had recourse to the arts of divination; for at the second failure he complains:—'Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.' And after the third attempt, it is said:—'When Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments, but he set his face towards the wilderness.'

Some of the solemn charms used by the heathen, on such occasions, are mentioned in the life of Crassus from the pen of Plutarch. The historian states that Atticus, a tribune of the people, made a fire at the gate, out of which the general was to march against the Parthians, into which he threw certain things to make a fume, and offered sacrifice to the most angry gods, with horrid imprecations. These, he says, according to ancient traditions, had such a power, that no man who was loaded with them could avoid being undone.* Under the influence probably of the same opinion, the renowned champion of the Philistines, sure of the favour and protection of his deities, and, consequently, persuaded that his enemies must necessarily be the objects of their displeasure and vengeance, cursed David by his gods, devoting him to utter destruction: And so the Romans used to do, in these words, *Dii Deœque perdant.*†

* Langhorne's Plutarch, vol. iii. p. 440.

† Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. i. p. 69. [Not long ago the Indian astrologers were consulted by the Gracia chiefs, on the first rumour of the British expedition against Mandira, and they having been

These preparatory measures taken, the hostile army began its march, and entering the enemy's country, laid it waste with fire and sword. For this purpose, the horsemen spread themselves on every side, dividing themselves into small parties in their dreadful progress, till, if not checked by the timely resistance of the inhabitants, scarcely a single dwelling escaped their indiscriminate ravage. To such a scene of pillage and desolation the prophet Habakkuk evidently refers:—'Their horsemen shall spread themselves; and their horsemen shall come from far.'* The Baron Du Tott, in his entertaining work, has given us an account of the manner in which an army of modern Tartars conducted themselves, which serves greatly to illustrate this passage:—'These particulars,' says the Baron, 'informed the cham or prince, and the generals, what their real position was; and it was decided that a third of the army, composed of volunteers, and commanded by a sultan and several mirzas, should pass the river at midnight, divided into several columns, subdivide successively, and thus overspread New Servia, burn the villages, corn, and fodder, and carry off the inhabitants of the country. The rest of the army, in order to follow the plan concerted, marched till they came to the beaten track in the snow made by the detachment. This we followed, till we arrived at the place where it divides into seven branches, to the left of which we constantly kept, observing never to mingle or confuse ourselves with any of the subdivisions which we successively found; and some of which were only small paths, traced by one or two horsemen. Flocks were found frozen to death on the plain, and twenty columns of

prevailed upon to go and curse them, buoyed up the native princes with the hope that the English would be defeated, and that they had nothing to fear.—*Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.* 'In our late war with the Burmese,' says Mr Roberts, 'the chiefs had several magicians, who were much engaged in cursing our troops, and devoting them to destruction; but as they did not succeed, a number of witches were brought for the same purpose.']—*Ed.*

* Habakkuk i. 8.

smoke, already rising in the horizon, completed the horrors of the scene, and announced the fires which had laid waste New Servia.'* The difficulties which have attended the explanation of this prediction are thus happily removed, and the propriety of the expression fully established.

To restrain the licentiousness and cruelty to which soldiers in general become so prone, God himself expressly forbade the armies of Israel to hurt or cut down the fruit trees, or to employ them in their works against a besieged city, because they contributed to the support of human life. Such as were not fruit-bearing trees might be cut down to raise bulwarks, or otherwise to distress the enemy; but not merely for the sake of waste and desolation. The Moabites, however, were punished with the utmost rigour by the express command of Jehovah himself, who had a right, when he pleased, to suspend the law which depended upon his own will :—' And this is but a light thing in the sight of the Lord; he will deliver the Moabites also into your hand; and ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all wells of water, and mar every good piece of land with stones.'† This ancient mode of warfare, which, on ordinary occasions, was forbidden to the Hebrews, is still followed by the Arabs, who infest that unhappy country. In their military expeditions they burn the corn, cut down the olive trees, carry off the sheep, and, except taking the life of their enemy, do him all the mischief in their power.‡

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 446-487.

† 2 Kings iii. 18. [The same devastating measures were practised by almost all the warlike nations of antiquity. Allusion is made to them in the pious answer of Hezekiah to the blasphemous vaunting of Sennacherib :—' By thy messages thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, with the multitude of my chariots I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and will cut down the tall cedar trees thereof, and the choice fir trees thereof.']—*Editor.*

‡ Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 213.

The inhabitants of the invaded country endeavoured to distress their enemies, and force them to retire, by diverting the streams into other channels, and stopping up the wells. To those who inhabit a colder latitude, and live in a country abounding with water, such operations may seem to be a very inefficient means of defence; but in the East, where water is very scarce, and the heat of the climate hardly to be endured, they are often terribly efficacious. It was, therefore, no feeble measure which Hezekiah proposed, when Sennacherib invaded his dominions, and threatened to lay siege to his capital, 'to stop all the fountains, and the brook which ran through the midst of the land.' The same stratagem was again tried in an age long posterior to the times of that excellent monarch; and it had the effect of reducing an European army to very great distress. In the eleventh century of the christian era, the inhabitants of Jerusalem having received advice that the crusaders were advancing to besiege the city, stopped up their wells and cisterns for five or six miles round, that they might be obliged, from the want of water, to desist from their design. This precaution reduced the christian army to great perplexity and distress, although it did not hinder them from persevering in the siege till they compelled the Saracens to surrender. While the inhabitants had a plentiful supply of water, as well from their cisterns which received the rain of heaven, as from the fountains without the walls, the water of which was conveyed by aqueducts into two very large basins within the city, the besiegers were reduced by thirst to the last extremity. The men preserved their lives with great difficulty, by procuring a little water from some fountains at four or five miles distance; but their horses and other cattle died in great numbers, and occasioned a dangerous pestilential contagion.*

When the Greeks came within sight of their enemies

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 404, 405.

in the open field, they drew up their whole army in one line, trusting the success of the day to a single onset; while the Romans, who far excelled them in the art of marshalling an army, ranging their *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* in distinct bodies behind one another at proper distances, were able, after the defeat of their first line, twice to renew the battle; and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several engagements. The armies of Israel seem to have been drawn up in the manner of the Greeks, in one front, prepared to decide the victory by one grand effort.*

Immediately before the signal was given, and sometimes in the heat of battle, the general of a Grecian army made an oration to his troops, in which he briefly stated the motives that ought to animate their bosoms, and exhorted them to exert their utmost force and vigour against the enemy. The success which sometimes attended these harangues was wonderful; the soldiers, animated with fresh life and courage, returned to the charge, retrieved in an instant their affairs, which were in a declining and almost desperate condition, and repulsed those very enemies by whom they had been often defeated. Several instances of this might be quoted from Roman and Grecian history; but few are more remarkable than that of Tyrtæus, the lame Athenian poet, to whom the command of the Spartan army was given in one of the Messenian wars. The Spartans had at that time suffered great losses in many encounters, and all their stratagems proved ineffectual; so that they began to despair almost of success, when the poet, by his incentives to honour and courage, sung in inspiring strains to the army, and ravished them to such a degree with the thoughts of dying for their country, that, rushing on with a furious transport to meet their enemies, they gave them an entire overthrow, and by one decisive battle brought the war to a happy conclusion.†

* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 75. † Ibid. p. 76.

Such military harangues, especially in very trying circumstances, are perfectly natural, and may be found perhaps in the records of every nation. The history of Joab, the commander-in-chief of David's armies, furnishes a striking instance :—'When Joab saw that the front of the battle was against him, before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians ; and the rest of the people he delivered into the hand of Abishai his brother, that he might put them in array against the children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me ; but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will come and help thee. Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God ; and the Lord do that which seemeth good in his sight.'* In a succeeding age, the king of Judah addressed his troops, before they marched against the confederate armies of Moab and Ammon, in terms becoming the chief magistrate of a holy nation, and calculated to make a deep impression on their minds :—'And as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah! and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem! Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established ; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper.'† To express his own confidence in the protection of Jehovah, and to inspire his army with the same sentiments, after consulting with the people, he 'appointed singers unto the Lord, and that should praise the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and to say, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever.'‡ This pious conduct obtained the approbation of the living and true God, who rewarded the cheerful reliance of his people with a complete victory over their enemies, unattended by loss or danger to them ; for 'when they began to praise, the Lord turned every man's sword against his fellow,' in the camp of the

* 2 Sam. x. 9-12. † 2 Chron. xx. 20. ‡ Verse 21.

confederates, till not one escaped. Animated with joy and gratitude for so great a deliverance, the pious king returned to Jerusalem at the head of his troops, preceded by a numerous band of music, celebrating the praises of the God of battles. A custom not unlike this, and perhaps derived from some imperfect tradition of it, long prevailed in the states of Greece. Before they joined battle, they sung an hymn to the God of war, called παιαν εμβατηριος; and when victory declared in their favour, they sung another to Apollo, termed παιαν επινικιος.*

'Among the Greeks, too, the soothsayers inspected all the sacrifices, to presage the success of the battle; and till the omens proved favourable, they rather chose tamely to resign their lives to the enemy, than to defend themselves.'† These superstitious rites they borrowed from the Babylonians, who were exceedingly addicted to divination. The prophet Ezekiel records a remarkable instance of this, in his prophecy against Jerusalem:—'For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver.'‡ Jerome says, the mode of divining by arrows was this:—They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities they intended to besiege, and then putting them promiscuously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out in the manner of lots, and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn out, was the first they assaulted.' Della Vallè mentions another method of divination by arrows, different from the former:—'He saw at Aleppo, a Mohammedan, who caused two persons to sit upon the ground, one opposite to the other, and gave them four arrows into their hands, which both of them held with their points downward, and as it were in two right lines, united one to the other. Then a question being

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 76.
† Ibid. p. 77. ‡ Ezekiel xxi. 21.

put to him about any business, he fell to murmur his enchantments, and thereby caused the said four arrows of their own accord to unite their points together in the midst (though he that held them stirred not his hand), and according to the future event of the matter, those of the right side were placed over those of the left, or on the contrary.'*

Some writers are of opinion, that the arrows were cast into the air, and the inquirer was to shape his course the same way that the arrow inclined in its descent. This was perhaps the reason why the king of Babylon made the head of his arrows bright, that the sun-beam, reflected from their polished heads, might enable him to trace their path with greater ease and certainty. It is however still more probable, that he divined by looking upon the iron heads of the arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; which accounts in the most satisfactory way for the care with which they were brightened. [To these remarks it may not be uninteresting to add the following extract from the work of a celebrated orientalist :—'The ancient idolatrous Arabs used a sort of lots, which were called lots by arrows. These arrows were without heads or feathers; they were three in number; upon one of them was written, "Command me, Lord;" upon the second, "Forbid, or prevent, Lord." The third arrow was blank. When any one wanted to determine on a course of action, he went with a present to the diviner (who was the chief priest of the temple), who drew one of his arrows from his bag, and if the arrow of "command" appeared, he immediately set about the affair: if that of prohibition appeared, he deferred the execution of his enterprise for a whole year: when the blank arrow came out, he was to draw again. The Arabs consulted these arrows in all their affairs, particularly their warlike expeditions.'†]

* Travels, p. 276.

† D'Herbelot, Bib. Orientale. Staves, or rods, were also sometimes

To this method of divination was added the inspection of the liver. This was also the first and principal part of the intestines, which the Grecian soothsayers examined. If it was corrupted, they thought that the blood, and by consequence all the body, must be so too; and therefore if it was found in a very bad state, they desisted immediately, without regarding the supposed indications of the other parts. If it exhibited a pleasing and natural redness; if it was sound, without spot or blemish; if its head was large; if it had two heads, or if there were two livers; if its lappets were turned inwards:—then prosperity and success were expected. But if, on the other hand, it was too dry, or the parts tied together, especially if it was without a lappet, or if the liver itself was altogether wanting, they looked for nothing but dangers, disappointments, and misfortunes.

The chosen people of Jehovah, not less eager than others to know the issue of their military expeditions, or if Heaven regarded their undertakings with a favourable eye, had frequent recourse to the holy Oracle; they consulted the prophet of the Lord; they offered sacrifices and consulted with the high priest who bore the Urim and Thummim in his breastplate, by means of which he discovered the will of the Deity; or, presenting himself at the altar of incense, received the desired response by an audible voice from the most holy place. The son of Jesse, in a time of great distress and perplexity, consulted the oracle by means

used, and this idolatrous custom the Israelites seem to have adopted in the time of Hosea, who represents the Lord as reproving them in these words:—'My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them.' Various accounts are given of the way in which divination by the rod was performed. Some say that some small stocks, with certain characters inscribed upon them, were cast into a vessel, and then drawn out. Others say that the inquirer measured his staff by finger-lengths, saying alternately at each span, I will, or I will not go, and according as it happened to be the one or the other, when the measure of the staff was taken, his course was determined.—*Editor.*

of an ephod, a part of the sacerdotal vestments :— 'And David said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech's son, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod; and Abiathar brought hither the ephod to David. And David inquired at the Lord, saying, Shall I pursue after this troop? Shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue; for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.'* [On another occasion, we find him making a similar inquiry :—'David inquired of the Lord, saying, Shall I go and smite these Philistines? and the Lord said unto David, Go and smite the Philistines, and save Keilah. And David's men said unto him, We be afraid here in Judah; how much more, then, if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines. Then David, for their satisfaction, inquired of the Lord yet again, and the Lord answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah, for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand.'†] Here was no brightening of arrows, after the custom of superstitious heathens; no consulting with images, nor inspecting of intestines, from which nothing but vague conjecture can result; but a devout and humble application to the throne of the true God; and the answer was in every respect worthy of his character; it was clear and precise, at once authorizing the pursuit, and promising complete success; or forbidding them, in plain terms, to prosecute their designs.

After the introduction of trumpets into Greece, her armies generally began the attack at the sound of this warlike instrument; but the Lacedæmonians were particularly remarkable for beginning their engagements with the soft tones of the flute, which were intended to render the combatants cool and sedate, and enable them to march with a firm and majestic step against their enemies.‡ In the armies of Israel, the courage of the soldiers was roused and sustained by a concert of various instruments, in which were dis-

* 1 Sam. xxx. 8. † 1 Sam. xxiii. 2-4. ‡ Potter's Gr. Antiq. v. ii. p. 83.

tinguished the martial sounds of the silver trumpet, and the gentler notes of the harp and the psaltery.* In the beginning of their onset, which was made with a violent rush, they gave a general shout to encourage and animate one another, and strike terror into their enemies. This circumstance is distinctly stated in the first book of Samuel :—'And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him ; and he came to the trench, as the host was going forth to the fight, and shouted for the battle. For Israel and the Philistines had put the battle in array, army against army.'† This custom seems to have been used by almost every nation under heaven ; and is mentioned by all writers who treat of martial affairs. Homer compares the confused noise of two armies in the heat of battle, to the deafening roar of torrents rushing with impetuous force from the mountains into the subjacent valleys.‡ In the sixteenth Iliad, the fierce bands of Achilles pour from their ships into the plain with a joyful shout :—

Εκ νηων εχεοντο, βοη δ' ασβεσος υρωρει.§

L. 267.

In the wars which the Hebrews prosecuted in Canaan, and in the surrounding countries, the generals fought at the head of their armies, performing at once the part of a private soldier, and the various duties of a resolute captain. Joshua, Gideon, Saul, David, and Joab, each led their men in person, and shared in all the dangers of the field. In the heroic ages, the Grecian

* 2 Chron. xx. 28. † 1 Sam. xvi. 20. ‡ Iliad 1, lib. v. l. 452.

§ The shout was made by the voice, accompanied by a loud clashing of arms. The Trojans, Homer tells us, imitated a flock of cranes; the Persians studied to make the most confused and hideous yells, while the battle shout of the Greeks was Alala. That of the Hebrews was generally a concerted watchword, of which 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' shouted, doubtless with the highest enthusiasm, by the 300 brave men, may be given as an example.—*Editor.*

generals exposed their persons in the same way.* Homer, in all his battles, places the principal officers in the front, and calls them προμαχοι and προμοι, because they fought before their armies: Thus, when he led up the Trojans, the godlike Paris fought at their head :—

Τρωσιν μεν προμαχιζεν Αλεξανδρος θεοειδης.

Iliad, lib. iii. l. 16.

And when Achilles sends out his soldiers to defend the Grecian ships, having allotted to the rest of his officers their several posts, he places Patroclus and Automedon, as chief commanders, before the front.†

The Lacedæmonians were not allowed to prosecute their victory when their enemies fled from the field, nor to persist long and eagerly in the pursuit.‡ The Spartans, says Plutarch, in his life of Lycurgus, having routed an enemy, pursued him till they had completed their victory, and then sounded a retreat; thinking it base and unworthy of true Grecians to cut men in pieces, who had ceased to resist them, and left them masters of the field. This manner of dealing with those whom they had conquered, not only showed their magnanimity and greatness of soul, but also served a political purpose; for their enemies knowing, that they killed only those who made resistance, and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by an early flight. The Hebrew generals also restrained, on certain occasions, the valour of their men, and recalled them early by sound of trumpet from the pursuit. Absalom was no sooner slain and the victory secured, than 'Joab blew the trumpet, and the people returned from pursuing after Israel; for Joab held back the people.'§ Another instance occurred in the battle, which was fought by the pool of Gibeon, between the adherents of David and

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 87.

† Iliad, lib. xvi. l. 218.

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 88. Thucydides, lib. v. vol. i. p. 133.

§ 2 Sam, xviii. 16.

the house of Saul :—'So Joab blew a trumpet, and all the people stood still, and pursued after Israel no more, neither fought they any more.'* But, on many other occasions, they continued the pursuit a long time; as on the memorable occasion, when Jonathan, exhausted with fatigue and slaughter, recruited his fainting strength with a little honey, and as Joab himself intimates in his reply to Abner :—'As God liveth, unless thou hadst spoken, surely then in the morning, the people had gone up every one from following his brother.'†

The ancient Grecians frequently committed their cause to the issue of a single combat, and decided their quarrels by two or more champions on each side; and their kings and great commanders were so eager in the pursuit of glory, and so tender of the lives of their subjects, that they frequently sent challenges to their rivals, to end the quarrel by a single encounter, that by the death of one of them, the effusion of more blood might be prevented. Ancient history contains many remarkable instances of such combats; Xanthus, king of Bœotia, challenged the king of Attica, to terminate the dangerous war in which their states were engaged in this way, and lost his life in the contest; and Pittacus, the famous Mitylenian, killed Phryno, the Athenian general, in a single combat.‡ Long before this time, Menelaus and Paris engaged in single combat under the walls of Troy; and the famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, in the early history of Rome, as well as that between Dioxippus and Horratas, described by Curtius, are familiar to every reader of the classics. This custom was not unknown in Palestine and other eastern countries, for the champion of the Philistines challenged the armies of Israel to give him a man to fight with him; and when he fell by the valour of David, his countrymen, struck with dismay,

* 2 Sam. ii. 28. † 2 Sam. ii. 27.

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 89. Iliad, lib. iv. l. 325, &c. Hector and Ajax, lib. vii. l. 225.

immediately deserted their standards, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight.

The challenge given on those occasions was generally couched in the most insolent language, and delivered with a very contemptuous air. Thus, Homer makes one chief address another in these terms :—'Bold as thou art, too prodigal of life, approach and enter the dark gates of death.' But this is a tame and spiritless defiance, compared with the proud and insulting terms which Goliath addressed to his young and inexperienced antagonist :—'Come to me, and I will give thy flesh to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field ;' or the bold and manly, but devout reply of the youthful warrior :—'Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield ; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied. This day will the Lord deliver thee into mine hand ; and I will smite thee, and take thine head from thee ; and I will give the carcases of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth ; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel.'*

[This style of vituperation is quite common in the annals of oriental warfare. The following occurred in the course of the late revolutionary war in Greece :—In a battle between the Greeks and the Turks, the engagement was commenced by both parties hurling the most bitter and opprobrious sarcasms at each other. 'Come on, ye uncircumcised Giaours. We shall take your mothers for our slaves ; may the birds of heaven defile your fathers' heads ; we shall give your carcases to the beasts ;' to which the Greeks responded in similar terms of invective :—'Approach, ye turbaned dogs ; come, and see us making wadding of your koran. Soon shall we trample on your prophet, and give your daughters pork to eat.'†]

The Philistines no sooner saw their champion fallen,

* 1 Samuel xvii. 4-6. † Madden's Travels.

and his head severed from his body, than, seized with a panic fear, they fled, and the armies of Israel pursued with loud acclamations. Another instance of panic which struck the army of the Philistines, a short time before, when Jonathan and his armour-bearer fell upon their garrison and put them to flight, is described in these terms :—'And there was trembling in the host, in the field, and among all the people ; the garrison and the spoilers, they also trembled ; and the earth quaked ; so it was a very great trembling.'* In the Hebrew, it is a trembling of God ; that is, a fear which God sent upon them, and consequently which the strongest mind could not reason down, nor the firmest heart resist. This fear, the Greeks and other heathen nations called a panic ; because Pan, one of their gods, was believed to be the author of it. Bacchus, in his Indian expedition, led his army into some defiles, where he was surrounded by his enemies, and reduced to the last extremity. By the advice of Pan, his lieutenant general, he made his army give a sudden shout, which struck the enemy with so great astonishment and terror, that they fled with the utmost precipitation.† Hence, it was ever afterwards called a panic, and supposed to come directly from heaven.‡

The flight of the Syrians, in the reign of Jehoram, king of Israel, was produced by a panic, which so completely unmanned them, that, says the sacred historian, 'all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste.'§ The flight of Saladine's army, which was defeated by Bald-

* 1 Sam. xiv. 15. † Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 84.

‡ It is thus expressed by Pindar :—

——— εν γαρ
Δαιμονιοισι φοβοις
Φευγονται και παιδες Θεων.

'When men are struck with divine terrors, even the children of the gods betake themselves to flight.'—*Nemea*, ix. 63.

§ 2 Kings vii. 15.

win IV. near Gaza, in the time of the crusades, was marked with similar circumstances of consternation and terror. To flee with greater expedition, they threw away their arms and clothes, their coats of mail, their greaves, and other pieces of armour, and abandoned their baggage, and fled from their pursuers, almost in a state of complete nudity.*

[Whether in single combat or otherwise, ancient soldiers, when fighting hand to hand, tried to seize their antagonist by the hair of the head or the beard. So frequently was advantage taken of long hair, that Plutarch relates an anecdote of Alexander the Great, who, on one of his officers asking, after all preparations had been completed for a battle, whether he had any further commands, said,—'The soldiers must all shave their beards.' On Parmenio expressing surprise at the order, 'Don't you know,' replied his commander, 'that the beard affords the best hold one can get in fighting?' Accordingly, in the contests between the partisans of the houses of Saul and David, the twelve young men who engaged on each side caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side.† And in like manner, Joab, catching Amasa by the beard, smote him with his sword in the fifth rib.‡]

It was customary in the ancient combats, for the vanquished person to stretch out his hands to the conqueror, signifying that he declined the battle, yielded the victory, and submitted to the direction of the victor.§ To this custom our Lord alludes in his prediction to Peter:—'When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee.'‖ The aged apostle was to stretch out his hands as a token of

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 485, 486.

† 2 Sam. 11, 16. ‡ 2 Sam. xx. 9.

§ So, Turnus in Virgil:—

——— 'Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii, videre.'—*Æneid*, lib. xii. l. 936.

'You have overcome, and the Ausonians have seen thy vanquished foe stretch forth his suppliant hands.'

‖ John xxi. 18.

submission to that power, under which he would fall and perish.*

Many of the oriental cities were defended by strong walls and lofty towers, long before the nations of Greece and Rome had any fixed or settled habitations. When the armies of Israel entered Canaan, they found Jericho, and other towns, strongly fortified; for the reduction of which they were indebted, not to their own bravery, nor the effect of their military engines, but to the miraculous power of Heaven. [The spies despatched by Moses to reconnoitre the land of Canaan, described the cities as strong, and fenced up to heaven, which, though obviously an oriental hyperbole, sufficiently indicates the great solidity and height of their walls. The strength of the walls of oriental cities, however, is not so great, as their lofty appearance, which is seldom less than thirty feet, would seem to betoken. The radical error is, that they are not built of a proportional thickness; but this defect is in some measure supplied by buttresses along the walls, at regular distances, placed in the form of square or round towers,† which, particularly those erected at the angles, are very strong, being intended as convenient places where the besieged, in the event of an attempt being made to scale their walls, may betake themselves for safety, and at the same time attack the assailants on the flanks and behind. These towers, though incapable of withstanding, for any considerable time, the artillery of European warfare, give to a city the appearance of a fortified place; and as, from the entire ignorance of the orientals of the method of conducting sieges, they look, even in the present day, upon high and thick

* Burder's Oriental Customs, Observation 1308.

† Towers in Judea seem to have been chiefly of a round form, as appears from Song iv. 4, vii. 4; and from their height as well as their being sought as places of impregnable refuge in times of danger, David metaphorically styles God, who had protected him amid the severe trials of his chequered life, as 'his high tower,' 2 Sam. xxii. 3.—*Editor.*

walls, surmounted by towers, as impregnable except by the gates, it is not surprising that the same notions as to the walls of the Canaanitish cities being too high to be scaled, and too solid to be overthrown, should prevail among the Israelites in the early age of Moses. Some cities, however, whose security it was of the first importance to preserve, were fortified by two or even three walls, each at short intervals within the other; the design of which was, that, should an enemy succeed in storming the first, there should be a second and a third check given to his progress. With such a triple row of battlements Jerusalem was defended; besides which, there was, in the case of that celebrated city, a deep valley in front of the interior wall, corresponding to the deep moat which entrenched the walls of others.]

After the Israelites became more expert in military affairs, and provided with suitable means of attack, they undertook and prosecuted sieges in due form. When they endeavoured to get possession of a tower or castle, they seem to have attempted it first by storm, surrounding it with their whole army, and attacking it in all quarters at once. When this method proved ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their enterprise; but if determined to prosecute it, they prepared for a longer siege, in the management of which they seem to have followed no constant and settled method. In attacking and defending cities, they probably employed much the same means as the Greeks and Romans afterwards adopted, and carried to so great a state of perfection. The renowned warriors of Greece and Rome began their operations against a fortified town with lines of circumvallation, which sometimes consisted of a double wall or rampart, raised of turfs.* The interior fortification was designed to prevent sudden and unexpected sallies

* Called in Greek πλινθοι and πλινθια, in Latin *cespites*.

from the town, and to deprive it of all possibility of succour from without; the exterior, to secure them from foreign enemies that might come to the relief of the besieged. The middle space, which was sixteen feet, was taken up with lodges for guards and sentinels, built at due distances from one another; yet so close, that at a distant view the whole pile appeared to be one broad wall, with turrets on both sides, after every tenth of which was a larger tower, extended from wall to wall.* Such appear to be the works which Moses refers to in his directions for the management of a siege: —'When thou shalt besiege a city a long time, in making war against it to take it, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof, by forcing an axe against them; for thou mayest eat of them; and thou shalt not cut them down (for the tree of the field is man's life), to employ them in the siege: Only the trees which thou knowest that they be not trees for meat, thou shalt destroy and cut them down; and thou shalt build bulwarks against the city that maketh war with thee, until it be subdued.' †

The terrible distress to which the inhabitants of a besieged city were sometimes reduced by these works of circumvallation, is described by the same pen in strong but just colours, in a following chapter:—'And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons, and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee; so that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eyes shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave; so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he hath nothing left him in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemy shall distress

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 90.
† Deuteronomy xx. 19, 20.

thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them, for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates.'* The same calamity was predicted by our Lord a short time before his death, in his affecting lamentation over Jerusalem:—'For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.'†

Another contrivance which the besiegers employed, was the *agger* or mount, which they raised so high as to equal, if not exceed, the top of the besieged walls: the sides which rose in a slanting direction were supported with bricks or stones, or secured with strong rafters to hinder it from falling; the fore part only remained bare, because it was to be advanced by degrees nearer the city, that from this eminence they might the more effectually shoot into the city. The pile itself consisted of all sorts of materials, as earth, timber, boughs, stones; into the middle were cast also wickers, and twigs of trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other parts.‡ The prophet Habakkuk manifestly refers to the mount, in that prediction, where he describes the desolating march of the Chaldeans, and the

* Deuteronomy, xxviii. 53, &c.

† Luke xix. 43. See also Jeremiah xix. 9.

‡ The whole fabric is thus described by Lucan:—

——— 'tunc omnia late
Procumbunt nemora et spoliantur robore sylvæ,' &c.
'The groves are felled, and strongest timber sought;
From thickest forests largest oaks are brought,
To make strong rafters to support the pile,
Lest th' earth break in and frustrate all their toil,
Unable to sustain the tower's weight.'

Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 94.

success of their arms :—'They shall deride every strong hold; for they shall heap up dust and take it.'*

Moveable towers of wood were usually placed upon the mount, which were driven on wheels fixed within the bottom planks, to secure them from the enemy. Their size was not always the same, but proportioned to the towers of the city they besieged; the front was usually covered with tiles: and, in later times, the sides were likewise guarded with the same materials; their tops were covered with raw hides, and other things, to preserve them from fire balls and missive weapons: they were formed into several stories, which were able to carry both soldiers and several kinds of engines.† All these modes of attack were practised in the days of Isaiah, who threatens Jerusalem with a siege conducted according to this method :—'And I will encamp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount; and I will raise forts against thee.'‡ The prophet Ezekiel repeats the prediction in almost the same words, adding only the name of the engine which was to be employed in battering down the walls :—'Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and portray upon it the city, even Jerusalem; and lay siege against it, and cast a mount against it; set the camp also against it; and set battering rams against it round about.'§

The battering ram was an engine with an iron head, resembling the head of a ram, with which they beat down the enemies' walls. Of this, Potter mentions three kinds; the first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long beam with an iron head, which the soldiers drove with main force against the wall; the second was hung with ropes to another beam, by the help of which they thrust it forward with much greater force; the third differed from the former only in being

* Habakkuk i. 10.
† Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 94.
‡ Isaiah xxix. 3. § Ezekiel iv. 1.

covered with a testudo, or shroud, to protect the soldiers that worked it from the darts of the enemy. The beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty feet in length, and covered with iron plates, lest those who defended the walls should set it on fire; the head was armed with as many horns as they pleased. Josephus reports, that one of Vespasian's rams, the length of which was only fifty cubits, which came not up to the size of several of the Grecian rams, had an head as thick as ten men, and twenty-five horns, each of which was as thick as one man, and placed a cubit's distance from the rest; the weight hung (as was customary) upon the hinder part, and was no less than one thousand and five hundred talents; when it was removed from one place to another, it was not taken in pieces; an hundred and fifty yoke of oxen, or three hundred pair of horses and mules laboured in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred men employed their utmost strength in forcing it against the walls. At other times, we find these rams driven upon wheels. Such was the formidable engine, of which the prophet Ezekiel warned the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and which in the hands of the Romans, levelled at last the walls of that proud metropolis with the ground.*

To this may be added, various engines for casting arrows, darts, and stones of a larger size; of which the most remarkable was the *balista*, which hurled stones of the size of mill-stones, with so great violence as to dash whole houses in pieces at a blow. Such were the engines which Uzziah, the king of Judah, planted on the walls and towers of Jerusalem, to defend it against the attacks of an invading force:—'And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by cunning

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 95. [Ezekiel iv. 2; xxi. 22. They were invented by the Babylonians, from whom they were borrowed and improved upon by the Greeks and Romans. Ezekiel would become acquainted with their dreadful execution in war during his residence in Assyria.]—*Editor.*

men, to be on the towers, and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal.'* Some of these inventions, however, had been in use long before; for in the reign of David, the battering-ram was employed in the siege of Abel-Bethmaachah :—'They cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench; and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall to throw it down.'† These powerful engines, invented by Jewish artists, and worked by the skill and vigour of Jewish soldiers, were undoubtedly the prototypes of those which the celebrated nations of Greece and Rome afterwards employed with so much success in their sieges.‡

The *testudo*, or tortoise, was a defensive invention, which received its name from covering and sheltering the soldiers from the weapons of their enemies, as a tortoise is covered by its shell. Ancient authors describe several kinds of it; but the one to which the sacred writer seems to allude, is the *testudo militaris*, used in the field of battle, but more frequently in surprising cities, before the inhabitants were apprised of their danger, and prepared for their defence, which served to protect the besiegers in their approach to the walls. When the testudo was formed, the soldiers drew up close to one another, and the hindermost ranks bowing themselves, placed their targets above their heads; the first rank stood erect, the rest stooped lower and lower by degrees, till the last rank kneeled upon the ground; the men in the front and on the sides holding their targets before their bodies, the rest covering the heads of those who were placed before

* 2 Chronicles xxvi. 15. † 2 Samuel xx. 15.

‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 95. [Two different engines were used by the Romans for shooting and for casting stones, the latter was the *balista*, the former was called *catapulta*. Such was the force with which missiles were projected from those powerful engines, that Josephus informs us, a man at the siege of Jerusalem was killed by a stone thrown from one at the distance of three furlongs, besides many other instances he gives of the destruction they caused of the walls and towers.]—*Editor.*

them ; so that the whole body resembled a pent-house or roof covered with tiles, down which the enemies' missile weapons easily glided, without prejudice to the soldiers beneath.* Under a covert of this kind, the prophet fortels that the armies of Babylon should advance to the attack of Tyre :—' He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field ; and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee ;' advance to storm thy walls under the protection of the testudo ; ' and he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers.'† Under the protection of their bucklers, the soldiers mounted upon the shoulders of one another till they reached the top of the wall ; or they endeavoured singly to climb it, wherever they could find a hold, or a place less vigilantly guarded.

The methods by which the besieged endeavoured to defend themselves and their families were various. When the enemy approached, they gave notice to their confederates to hasten their assistance. In the day, this was done by raising a great smoke ; in the night, by fires or lighted torches. If the flaming torch was intended to announce the arrival of friends, it was held still ; but on the approach of an enemy, it was waved backwards and forwards, an apt emblem of the destructive tumults of war.‡ In allusion to this practice, the prophet Jeremiah calls to the people of Benjamin and Judah :—' Gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoah, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem ; for evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction.'§ Sometimes, like the men of Gibeon and Jabesh-Gilead,‖ they sent messengers to inform their friends of their

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 93.
† Ezekiel xxvi. 8, 9.
‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 96.
§ Jeremiah vi. 1. ‖ Joshua x. 6 ; 1 Samuel xi. 4.

perilous condition, and entreat their assistance. They guarded the walls with soldiers, who, with stones and all sorts of missive weapons, annoyed the invaders, and repulsed their attack. In some instances, the weaker sex vied with their fathers and husbands, in defending their walls; a memorable instance of which is recorded in the book of Judges, where the historian describes the fall of Abimelech by the hand of a woman. When Hezekiah was threatened with utter destruction by Sennacherib, 'he took counsel with his princes and the mighty men, to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city. . . . Also he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo in the city of David, and made darts and shields in abundance.'* Many other contrivances were used, as the posture of affairs required, or the genius of the besieged supplied them with methods of annoyance and defence; but as the sacred writers make few or no allusions to them, they do not come within the plan of this work.

When a city was taken, all that were found in arms were put to the sword; the walls and buildings were demolished, and the rest of the inhabitants were sold into slavery. If the defence had been long and vigorous, if the besiegers had suffered much, or if the general was of a cruel or ungenerous disposition, men, women, and children, were involved in one promiscuous destruction. But so cruel a fate was reserved only for some particular places; many cities taken by siege, were, after the tumult of battle, received into favour by the conqueror, who required only some tributary acknowledgment.† The lot of 'populous' No was very severe. This ancient and celebrated city, 'that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea,' had probably made a long and obstinate

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 3-5. † Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 97.

resistance:—'Yet was she carried away: she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men; and all her great men were bound in chains.'* Not less complete was the predicted destruction of Tyre, which has long since been realized in every particular:—'And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers. I will also scrape her dust† from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God; and it shall become a spoil to the nations. And her daughters which are in the field shall be slain by the sword; and they shall know that I am the Lord.'‡ Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, has been in like manner swept away from the face of the earth, by the fierce anger of Jehovah; the predic-

* Nahum iii. 10. No-Amon appears to be ancient Thebes. Her rampart and wall was the Nile, which, by an orientalism, was anciently, and still is, called 'the sea.' The epithet 'populous' applied to her by the prophet, is illustrated by the testimony of Homer, who describes her as having an hundred gates; and Diodorus, with great probability, supposes that the wide recesses in these numerous gates were built for holding the war-chariots and horses which she sent out to war, two hundred of which, fully equipped, issued from each of them on critical occasions; yet for all these vast military resources 'was she carried away; she went into captivity.'—*Editor.*

† The word 'dust' here, Archbishop Newcome translates earth, and refers it to the custom in Palestine of fertilizing particular spots by carrying mould to them from the places less eligible for the purpose of sowing or planting the top, the bare shining surface of a rock. 'It was remarkable,' says Mr Wilde, 'that one of the first objects which caught my attention on entering the small harbour, was a large net hung out to dry on one of the adjacent towers, the ruins of which still exist in the remaining portion of the tower, even at the present day, "the top of a rock, a place to spread nets upon."'—*Wilde*, vol. ii. p. 112. 'A few Tyrian boats,' says Mr Carne, 'were moored near the ruins when we arrived; the voices of the fishermen, at intervals, came on the solitude like the voices of the past, for thus it had been predicted of "the renowned city, which was strong in the sea; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord."'—*Carne's Views in Syria*, vol. ii. p. 44.—*Editor.*

‡ Ezekiel xxv. 4-6.

tion has been completely fulfilled :—'Every one that is found shall be thrust through ; and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes ; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished.'* The prediction of Jerusalem's fall may finish this fearful picture of desolation :—'For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee ; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another ; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.'†

When the Greeks demolished a city, it was their custom to pronounce direful curses against those who should attempt to rebuild it. This custom seems to have been of great antiquity, and derived from the eastern nations ; for Joshua, the renowned successor of Moses, pronounced a solemn malediction against the person who should rebuild Jericho ; which received its accomplishment in Hiel the Bethelite, many ages after, in the reign of Ahab :—'In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho : he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun'‡

The captured city was, after being razed to the foundations, not unfrequently sowed with salt, and marked with the plough, in token of perpetual desolation. Experience had taught the ancients, that the

* Isaiah xiii. 15. † Luke xix, 43.

‡ 1 Kings xvi. 34. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 97. [From a similar spirit, when the Israelites had made a conquest of Moab, they set heaps of stones in the best fields, which rude monuments were understood as a stern prohibition of any to cultivate them again. The same custom is still observed among the Arabs, who, when they are at enmity with neighbouring tribes, place heaps of stones here and there on the ground, to warn any who ventures to plough or sow the field, that by such an act they will also be considered enemies.]—*Editor.*

soil which abounds with salt is uniformly barren and desolate. The dreary solitudes, encrusted with salt, which in Syria so frequently meet the traveller's eye, and particularly that extensive desert which stretches between Aleppo and Bassorah near the Persian gulf, probably suggested to the oriental conqueror, the ancient custom of sowing with salt a vanquished city, which his ungenerous revenge had devoted to never-ending desolation. A memorable instance of this practice occurs in the history of Abimelech, who took the city of Shechem, and, after putting the wretched inhabitants to the sword, levelled it with the ground, and sowed it with salt.* The emperor Hadrian, resolved on the utter extermination of Jerusalem in the year 118, sowed the site of the ruined city with salt. And in modern times, the exasperated emperor Frederic Barbarossa, burnt, razed, sowed with salt, and ploughed the city of Milan. In allusion to the last of these customs, it was foretold by the prophet Micah:—'Zion shall be ploughed like a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of a forest.'† The Jewish writers allow that this prophecy received its fulfilment in the utter destruction of the second temple by Titus, when Terentius, or, as some modern Jews call him, Turnus Rufus, razed the very foundations of the city and temple, so that according to the prediction of our Lord, 'One stone was not left upon another.'‡

An oriental enemy, as in former ages, cuts down the trees of the country which he invades; destroys the

* Judges ix. 45. † Jer. xxvi. 18.

‡ [The prophecy concerning Mount Zion, that the plough should go over it, says Dr Clarke, has been fulfilled to the very letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived.—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 548.]—*Editor.* So frequent was the custom of breaking up the ground with the plough, where the dwellings of a brave and resolute people had stood, that Horace speaks of it in the most familiar terms:—

——— 'Imprimeretque muris
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.'

villages, and burns all the corn and provender which he cannot carry off: the surrounding plain, deprived of its verdure, is covered with putrid carcases and burning ashes; the hot wind wafting its fœtid odours, and dispersing the ashes among the tents, renders his encampment extremely disagreeable. During the night, the hyenas, jackalls, and wild beasts of various kinds, allured by the scent, prowl over the field with a horrid noise; and as soon as the morning dawns, a multitude of vultures, kites, and birds of prey, are seen asserting their claim to a share of the dead. Such was the scene which Forbes contemplated on the plains of Hindostan; 'and it was to me,' says that writer, 'a scene replete with horrid novelty, realizing the prophet's denunciation:—"I will appoint over them four kinds, saith the Lord; the sword to slay and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the heaven, and the beasts of the earth to devour and destroy."'* 'Wheresoever the carcass is there will the eagles be gathered together.'

It was the practice of ancient warriors, to strip the dead bodies of their enemies on the field of battle, after the victory was secured, and the pursuit had ceased; and not satisfied with this, they often treated them in the most brutal manner, basely revenging the injuries which they had received from them while living, by disfiguring their remains, and exposing them to scorn and ignominy. When the Philistines came to strip the dead that fell in the battle on the mountains of Gilboa, they found Saul and his three sons among the slain. But instead of respecting his rank and valour, 'they cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, which they put in the house of Ashtaroth; and they fastened his body, and the bodies of his sons, to the wall of Beth-shan.'† Capital offences were sometimes punished by throwing the criminals upon hooks, which were fixed in the wall below, where they frequently hung in the most exqui-

* Jer. xv. 3. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs. † 1 Sam. xxxi. 9.

site tortures, thirty or forty hours before they expired. It is probable that the bodies of Saul and his sons were fixed to such hooks as were placed there for the execution of the vilest malefactors; but whatever be in this, it was certainly meant as one of the greatest indignities which could be offered to the remains of an enemy who was both feared and detested.

The ancient Greeks treated the dead bodies of their enemies in a manner equally indecent and inhuman. They mangled, dismembered, dragged them about the field of battle, and suffered them to lie unburied for a long time, and even to become the prey of savage beasts and ravenous fowls. No instance of this kind is more remarkable than that of the brave, the generous, but unfortunate Hector, whose dead body suffered every indignity which the infuriate rage of Achilles, or the ferocious brutality of his myrmidons could invent. Nay, the whole army joined in the brutish and barbarous insult; which shows that it was their constant practice, and regarded as quite consistent with virtue and honour.* Tydeus is not treated with more respect in Statius; and in Virgil, the body of Mezentius is cruelly lacerated, for, though he only received two wounds from Æneas,† we find his breastplate pierced through in twelve places :—

> ——— 'bis sex thoraca petitum
> Perfossumque locis.'—*Æneid*, lib. xi. l. 9.

These instances, to which many others might be added, prove that it was the common practice of ancient warriors. In the heroic ages, too, the conquerors compelled their enemies to pay a large sum of money for permission to bury their dead. Hector's body was redeemed from Achilles; and that of Achilles was redeemed from the Trojans for the same price he had received for Hector.‡ And Virgil introduces Nisus dissuading his friend Euryalus from accompanying him into danger, lest, if he

* Iliad, lib. xxii. l. 367. † Æneid, lib. x. l. 905.
‡ Iliad, lib. xxiv. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.

were slain, there should be no person to recover by fight, or redeem his body :—

> ' Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemtum
> Mandet humo solita.'—*Æneid*, lib. ix. l. 213.

These statements prove, that it was a common practice in the primitive ages, to redeem the dead body of a warrior ; and if this was neglected or refused, it was frequently suffered to remain unburied.* But, in succeeding times, it was considered as the greatest impiety, as the indubitable mark of a savage or ungenerous temper, to deny the rites of burial to an enemy. The more civilized Grecians reckoned it a sacred duty to bury the slain, a debt which they owed to nature ; and they seldom or never neglected it, or refused their permission to pay it, except on extraordinary and unusual provocations. It was a very aggravating circumstance in the desolations of Jerusalem, so feelingly described by the pen of Asaph, that the dead bodies of her inhabitants remained unburied ; and the terms in which he mentions it, prove that the Hebrews had the same acute feelings, relative to this subject, as the most refined nations of antiquity :—' O God, the heathen are come unto thine inheritance ; thy holy temple have they defiled ; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem ; and there was none to bury them.'†

The ancients, in every part of the world, were ac-

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 100-102.

† Psalm lxxix. 1, 2, 3. [The same poignant grief for want of burial is expressed in the apocryphal book of Tobit :—' If I saw any of my nation dead or cast about the walls of Nineveh, I buried him,' i. 17. It was one among the many unfeeling insults and barbarities, that the arbitrary Sennacherib seems to have inflicted on the Hebrew captives, that numbers were wantonly destroyed and thrown over the walls of Nineveh, a prey to ravenous beasts. Tobit, who was detected in the humane office of secretly interring them, endangered his own life, but he succeeded in hiding himself.]—*Editor.*

customed to inter their warriors in complete armour. We are informed by Chardin, that the Mingrelian soldier sleeps with his sword under his head, and his arms by his side ; and he is buried in the same manner, his arms being placed in the same position. The allusion of Ezekiel to this ancient custom is extremely clear :—' They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war : and they have laid their swords under their heads ; but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living.'*

To mark the spot where the chiefs were buried, and to remain at the same time as a memorial of the battle in which they fell, their surviving friends raised over them a heap of stones. This practice may be traced to the primitive ages of the world ; for when Absalom was defeated and slain, ' they cast him into a great pit in the wood, and laid a very great heap of stones upon him.' This monumental heap was not intended to indicate that Absalom deserved to be stoned as a rebellious son, but merely to mark, according to a very common and a very ancient custom, the grave of that ambitious and unnatural prince. It was usual in the East, indeed, to distinguish any remarkable place or event by a heap of stones. All the Mohammedans that go in pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, visit a rock, on which the form of a camel's foot is imprinted, which they foolishly suppose to be the animal that Mohammed rode ; and, therefore, in honour of their prophet, they bring every one a stone, till, by progressive accumulation, a large heap has risen near the place.† The sur-

* Ezekiel xxxii. 27. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 55, 56.

† Jacob and his family, too, raised a heap of stones in commemoration of the covenant so happily concluded between him and Laban, on mount Gilead. That ' heap of witness ' informed every passenger that it was raised in memory of some interesting event; and every relation that brought a stone to the heap, made himself a witness to the agreement, as well as recommended it to the attention of others. Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. p. 399.

viving warriors, too, might bring every man his stone, in token of their respect for the deceased, to raise a monumental heap over the body of the hero who had led them to battle and to victory, which should arrest the notice of the passing traveller, and bear witness to future times of their attachment and regret.

The booty of the victors consisted of prisoners and spoils. All the inhabitants of a town carried by storm, or surrendered at discretion, and of the adjacent country which depended upon it, became either the property of the conquering nation, or of that particular person who had taken them, according to the laws which regulated the acquisition and division of spoil in different states.* At the taking of Troy, all that remained alive were made slaves, not excepting Hecuba the wife of Priam, and the princesses her daughters. The histories of Greece and Rome furnish many such examples.† The Romans ungenerously loaded with chains those princes who made a brave and obstinate resistance to their insatiable ambition, or put them to death after they had led them in triumph. They sold the common people by auction, and divided their lands among their own citizens, whom they sent to establish colonies in the desolated regions. The Babylonian monarch pursued the same barbarous policy; he 'slew the sons of Zedekiah, in Riblah, before his eyes; also the king of Babylon slew all the nobles of Judah. Moreover, he put out Zedekiah's eyes, and bound him with chains, to carry him to Babylon: And the Chaldeans burned the king's house, and the houses of the people, with fire, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem; then Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, carried away captive into Babylon the remnant of the people that remained in the city, and those that

* David established it as a regulation in the Hebrew army, that the spoil should be equally divided between those who fought and those who remained in custody of the baggage, 1 Sam. xxx. 24.—*Editor.*

† Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 106.

fell away, that fell to him, with the rest of the people that remained.'* But the captive Jews were not treated with the severity which those experienced that were compelled to pass under the Roman yoke: Several of them, after they were carried to Babylon, rose to the highest offices in the state; while others lived in easy circumstances, building houses, and planting vineyards, and enjoying the fruit of their labours. We are, however, to remember that they lived under the special protection of God, who had promised to preserve them in the land of their captivity, and bring them again into their own inheritance. Those who enjoyed no such protection, frequently met with a very different fate. The oriental conqueror often addressed his unfortunate captives in the most insulting language, of which the prophet Isaiah has left us a specimen:—'But I will put it (the cup of Jehovah's fury) into the hand of them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, Bow down that we may go over.' † And their actions were as harsh as their words were haughty; they made them bow down to the very ground, and put their feet upon their necks, and trampled them in the mire. This indignity the chosen people of God were obliged to suffer:—'Thou hast laid thy body as the ground, and as the street, to them that went over.' The practice seems to have descended from a very remote antiquity, in the oriental regions; for when Joshua subdued Canaan, he caused the captains of his army to put their feet upon the necks of her captive kings, as a sign of their complete reduction, and his own confidence of future success. It still prevailed in the East in ages comparatively modern; for Sapor, the king of Persia, commanded the Roman emperor Valerian, whom he had taken prisoner by treachery, to attend him in the condition of a base and abject slave, and to bow down and offer him his back, on which he set his foot, in order to mount his chariot or his horse, as often as he

* Jer. xxxix. 6. † Isaiah li. 23.

chose to appear in public.* Conquerors of a milder and more humane disposition, put their hand upon the neck of their captives, as a mark of their superiority. This custom may be traced as high as the age in which Jacob flourished; for, in his farewell blessing to Judah, he thus alludes to it:—'Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies.' † This benediction, which at once foretold the victorious career of that warlike tribe, and suggested the propriety of treating their prisoners with moderation and kindness, was fulfilled in the person of David, and acknowledged by him:—'Thou hast also given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them that hate me.' ‡ Traces of this custom may be discovered in the manners of other nations. Among the Franks, it was usual to put the arm round the neck, as a mark of superiority on the part of him by whom it was done. When Chrodin, declining the office of mayor of the palace, chose a young nobleman named Gogan, to fill that place, he immediately took the arm of the young man, and put it round his own neck, as a mark of his dependence on him, and that he acknowledged him for his general and chief.

The eastern conqueror often stripped his unhappy captives naked, shaved their heads, and made them travel in that condition, exposed to the burning heat of a vertical sun by day, and the chilling cold of the night.§ Such barbarous treatment was, to modest women, the height of cruelty and indignity, especially to those who had been educated in softness and elegance, who had figured in all the superfluities of ornamental dress, and whose faces had hardly ever been exposed to the sight of man.‖ The prophet Ezekiel mentions this as the hardest part of the sufferings in

* Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 387.
† Genesis xlix. 8. ‡ Psalm xviii. 40.
§ Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 135.
‖ Bishop Lowth's Isaiah.

which female captives are involved :—'The Lord will expose their nakedness.'* The daughter of Zion had indulged in all the softness of oriental luxury; but the offended Jehovah caused her unrelenting enemies to drag her forth from her secret chambers, into the view of an insolent soldiery; strip her of her ornaments, in which she so greatly delighted; take away her splendid and costly garments, discover her nakedness, and compel her to travel in that miserable plight to a far distant country, a hopeless captive, the property of a cruel lord.

Arrived in the land of their captivity, they are often purchased at a very low price. The prophet Joel, in a passage already quoted, complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the people of Israel were held by those who made them captives. The custom of casting lots for the captives taken in war, appears to have prevailed both among the Jews and the Greeks. Joel complains, that they cast lots for his people; and we learn from Nahum, that, when populous No was taken, 'they cast lots for her honourable men;'† the same allusion occurs in the prophecy of Obadiah :—'Strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem.'‡ With respect to the Greeks, we have an instance in Tryphiodorus :—

> 'Shared out by lot, the female captives stand,
> The spoils divided with an equal hand;
> Each to his ship conveys his rightful share,
> Price of their toil, and trophies of the war.'§

By an inhuman custom, which is still retained in the East, the eyes of captives taken in war are not seldom put out, sometimes literally scooped or dug out of their sockets. This dreadful calamity Samson had to endure, from the unrelenting vengeance of his enemies. In a posterior age, Zedekiah, the last king of Judah

* Ezekiel xvi. 37.
† Nahum iii. 10.
‡ Obad. verse 11.
§ Burder's Oriental Customs.

and Benjamin, after being compelled to behold the violent death of his sons and nobility, had his eyes put out, and was carried in chains to Babylon. The barbarous custom long survived the decline and fall of the Babylonian empire, for, by the testimony of Mr Maurice, in his history of Hindostan, the captive princes of that country were often treated in this manner by their more fortunate rivals; a red hot iron was passed over their eyes, which effectually deprived them of sight, and, at the same time, of their title and ability to reign.* To the wretched state of such prisoners, the prophet Isaiah alludes in a noble prediction, where he describes, in very glowing colours, the character and work of the promised Messiah :—'He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised,' as captives too frequently are by the weight of their fetters. He restored the eye-ball to the empty socket, and poured on it the light of day, or purged the sight from the thick film which covered it; imparted at once the faculty of directing it to particular objects, and the degree of vigour necessary to clear and steady vision; and all this with a single word :—'He spake, and it was done, he commanded, and it stood fast; for he is God over all, blessed for ever.'

The ferocious conqueror sometimes ordered the noses and lips of his vanquished enemies, without distinction of age or sex, to be cut off and preserved, that he might ascertain the number of souls that were added to his subjects. An allusion to this horrid custom, perhaps occurs in that complaint of Job :—'I am escaped with the skin of my teeth.'† The afflicted man had been in the hands of cruel enemies, but he had escaped without such mutilations, as miserable captives were often compelled to suffer.

Adonibezek certainly discovered a very savage dis-

* Modern History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 437, note.
† Job xix. 20.

position in cutting 'off the thumbs and great toes' of his captives; 'but much severer is the cruelty displayed in this narration of Indian war:— . . . The inhabitants of the town of *Lelith Pattan*, were disposed to surrender themselves, from the fear of having their noses cut off like these of *Cirtipur*, and also their *right hands*, a barbarity the *Gorchians* had threatened them with, unless they would surrender within five days!' Another resemblance to the history of the men of Jabesh, who desired seven days of melancholy respite from their threatened affliction by Nahash.*

It seems to have been the practice of eastern kings to command their captives taken in war, especially those that had, by the atrociousness of their crimes, or the stoutness of their resistance, greatly provoked their indignation, to lie down on the ground, and then put to death a certain part of them which they measured with the line, or determined by lot. This custom was not perhaps commonly practised by the people of God, in their wars with the nations around them; one instance, however, is recorded in the life of David, who inflicted this punishment on the Moabites:—'And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he to put to death, and with one full line to keep alive; and so the Moabites became David's servants and brought gifts.'†

The same warlike prince inflicted a still more terrible punishment on the inhabitants of Rabbah, the capital of Ammon, whose ill-advised king had violated the law of nations, in offering one of the greatest possible indignities to his ambassadors:—'He brought out the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick kiln; and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Am-

* Taylor's Calmet, vol. iii.

† 2 Sam. viii. 2. Burder's Oriental Customs, ob. 103.

mon.'* Some of them he sawed asunder; others he tore in pieces with harrows armed with great iron teeth; or lacerated their bodies with sharp sickles or sharp stones; or rather, he dragged them through the place where bricks were made, and grated their flesh upon the ragged sherds. This dreadful punishment was meant to operate upon the fears of other princes, and prevent them from violating the right of nations in the persons of their ambassadors. These were usually persons of great worth, or eminent station, who, by their quality and deportment, might command respect and attention from their very enemies. Ambassadors were accordingly held sacred among all people, even when at war; and what injuries and affronts soever had been committed, heaven and earth were thought to be concerned to prosecute the injuries done to them, with the utmost vengeance. So deep is this impression engraved on the human mind, that the Lacedæmonians, who had inhumanly murdered the Persian ambassadors, firmly believed their gods would accept none of their oblations and sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful omens, till two noblemen of Sparta were sent as an expiatory sacrifice to Xerxes, to atone for the death of his ambassadors by their own. That emperor, indeed, gave them leave to return in safety, without any other ignominy than what they suffered by a severe reflection on the Spartan nation, whose barbarous cruelty he professed he would not imitate, though he had been so greatly provoked. The Divine vengeance, however, suffered them not to go unpunished, but inflicted what those men had assumed to themselves on their sons, who being sent on an embassy into Asia, were betrayed into the hands of the Athenians, and put to death: which Herodotus, who relates the story, considered as a just revenge from heaven, for the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians. The character of ambassadors

* 2 Sam. xii. 31.

has been invested with inviolable sanctity by the mutual hopes and fears of nations; for, if persons of that character might be treated injuriously, the friendly relations between different states could not be maintained; and all hopes of peace and reconciliation amongst enemies must be banished for ever out of the world.*

But these considerations, although they might justify David in demanding satisfaction, and inflicting condign punishment on the king of Rabbah, cannot be reckoned a sufficient excuse for such severities. They may therefore be considered as a proof, that he was then in the state of his impenitence, in consequence of his illicit connexion with Bathsheba, when the mild, and gentle, and humane spirit of the true religion in his bosom, had suffered a mournful decline, and he was become cruel and furious, as well as lustful and incontinent. The captives taken by Amaziah, in his war with Edom, were also treated with uncommon severity, for 'he took ten thousand of them alive, and brought them to the top of a rock, and cast them down, so that they were all broken in pieces.'†

But the most shocking punishment which the ingenious cruelty of a haughty and unfeeling conqueror ever inflicted on the miserable captive, is described by Virgil in the eighth book of the Æneid; and which, even a Roman, inured to blood, could not mention without horror:—

'Quid memorem infandas cædes? quid facta tyranni!' &c.
L. 483.

'Why should I mention unutterable barbarities? the horrid deeds of the tyrant? May the gods recompense them on his own head and on his race. Nay, he even bound to the living the bodies of the dead, joining together hands to hands, and face to face, a horrid kind of torture: and them, pining away with gore and putrefaction in this loathed embrace, he thus destroyed

* Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 66. Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 134.

† 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

with lingering death.' It is to this most deplorable condition that the apostle refers, in that pathetic exclamation :—' O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?'* Who shall rescue me, miserable captive as I am, from this continual burden of sin which I carry about with me; and which is cumbersome and odious, as a dead carcass bound to a living body, to be dragged along with it wherever it goes?

The vanquished foe, in testimony of his submission, hung his sword from his neck, when he came into the presence of his conqueror. When Bagdat was taken by the Turks, in the year 1638, the governor's lieutenant and principal officer was sent to the grand vizier, with a scarf about his neck, and his sword wreathed in it, which is accounted by them a mark of deep humiliation and perfect submission, to beg for mercy in his own and his master's name. His request being granted, the governor came and was introduced to the grand signior, and obtained, not only a confirmation of the promise of life that had been made him, but also various presents of considerable value.† These circumstances forcibly recal to our minds the message of Benhadad, after his signal defeat, to the king of Israel; the passage runs in these terms: 'And his servants said unto him, Behold, now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings; let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel, peradventure he will save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put ropes on their heads, and came to the

* Romans vii. 24.

† Thevenot's Travels, part i. p. 289. Abdalla, governor of Ammadabat, having incurred the displeasure of the Persian king, was at length forced to submit, and actually appeared in the royal presence with a sword hung about his neck, with chains at his heels, and barefoot. 'The whole of this demeanour,' adds Sir John Malcolm, 'is a mode of begging clemency the most humble, and is considered by proud and barbarous men the most ignominious. It signifies, I approach you as a criminal, and bring myself to submit to whatever terms you may impose.'—*Editor.*

king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Benhadad saith, I pray thee, let me live. And he said, Is he yet alive? He is my brother.'*

The servants of Benhadad succeeded in obtaining a verbal assurance that his life should be spared; but a surer pledge of protection was to deliver a banner into the hand of the suppliant.† In the year 1099, when Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earnestly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by any promise of safety to come down, till they had received the banner of Tancred, one of the chiefs of the Crusaders, as a pledge of life. This they reckoned a more powerful protection than the most solemn promise; although, in this instance, their confidence was entirely misplaced; for the faithless zealots who pretended to fight for the Cross, put every man of them to the sword. The Psalmist perhaps considered the banner which God had given his people to be displayed because of the truth, in the same light. He celebrates in the sixtieth Psalm, a victory which he gained over the Syrians and Edomites, by which the affairs of his people were retrieved, in these words:—'Thou hast shewed thy people hard things . . . thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee.' According to this view, the sense is, Though for a time thou didst resign thy chosen Israel into the hands of their enemies, thou hast now given them a sure pledge of thy almighty protection. The word which we translate banner, Mr Harmer thinks may perhaps be more properly rendered ensign or standard. The standard of an oriental prince was often a spear overlaid with silver, with sometimes a ball of gold on the top, although it is undeniable that banners were occasionally

* 1 Kings xx. 31.

† The Khalif, along with the titles, used generally to send to the feudatory princes, a banner which was always carried before them while they preserved their allegiance, and was a pledge the protection of their superior.—*Editor.*

used in the eastern armies. If the Psalmist means an ensign or standard, then the word which we render displayed, must be translated, *lifted up;* and the clause will run, 'Thou hast given thy people an ensign or standard, to be lifted up because of the truth; that is, to be according to thy faithful promise, a sure pledge of the divine protection.'*

When the king of Syria had obtained security for his life, and assurance of being restored in peace to his throne, he promised in return for such great and unexpected favours, to restore the cities which his father had taken from Israel, and to permit Ahab to make streets in Damascus for himself, as his father had made in Samaria. This extraordinary privilege of making streets in Damascus, has exceedingly puzzled commentators. Some of them suppose the word *houtsoth* signifies market-places, where commodities were sold, the duties on which should belong to Ahab; others imagine, he meant courts of justice, where the king of Israel should have the prerogative of sitting in judgment, and exercising a jurisdiction over the Syrians; others think they were a sort of piazzas, of which he should receive the rents; one class of interpreters understand by the word, fortifications or citadels; another class attempt to prove, that palaces are meant, which Ahab should be permitted to build as a proof of his superiority. The privileges, which we know from the faithful page of history were actually granted to the Venetians for their aid, by the states of the kingdom of Jerusalem, during the captivity of Baldwin II., may perhaps explain in a more satisfactory manner these words of Benhadad. The instrument by which these privileges were secured, is preserved in the history of William, bishop of Tyre, the historian of the crusades, from which it appears, they were accustomed to assign

* Harmer's Observations, vol. i. p. 496. [In the same sense we interpret this other passage in the Psalms, 'In the name of our God we will set up our banners,' Psalm xx. 5.]—*Editor.*

churches, and to give streets in their towns and cities, with very ample prerogatives in these streets, to the foreign nations who lent them the most effectual assistance. The Venetians had a street in Acre, with full jurisdiction in it; and in what this consisted, we learn from the deed of settlement just mentioned; they had a right to have in their street an oven, a mill, a bath, weights, and measures for wine, oil, and honey; they had also a right to judge causes among themselves, together with as great a jurisdiction over all those who dwelt in their street, of what nation soever they might be, as the kings of Jerusalem had over others. The same historian informs us, that the Genoese also had a street in that city, with full jurisdiction in it, and a church as a reward for their services, together with a third part of the dues of the port. In the treaty of peace granted by Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, to Emanuel, the Greek emperor, it was stipulated that the latter should grant free liberty to the Turks to dwell together, in one street in Constantinople, with the free exercise of their own religion and laws, under a judge of their own nation. This humiliating condition the Greek emperor was obliged to accept; and a great number of Turks, with their families, were sent out of Bithynia to dwell in Constantinople, where a mosque was built for their accommodation. It is not improbable, that the same kind of privileges that were granted to the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Turks, had been granted to the father of Benhadad, by the king of Israel, and were now offered to Ahab in Damascus, in the distressed state of his affairs. The Syrian monarch promised to give his conqueror a number of streets in his capital city, for the use of his subjects, with peculiar rights and privileges, which enabled him to exercise the same jurisdiction there as in his own dominions.*

But besides the captives taken in battle, the booty

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 489–492.

of the conquerors consisted of all the moveable property which belonged to the vanquished, whose right and title, by the law of arms, passed to the former. Homer's heroes no sooner gain a victory, than without delay they seize the armour of the vanquished foe ; instances of this kind are as numerous as their combats. But this was rather the privilege of the principal commanders, than of the inferior soldiers, who were not permitted to gather the spoils of the dead till after the battle. 'My friends,' cried the prudent Nestor, 'Grecian heroes, children of Mars, let no soldier at present, greedy of spoil, linger behind to carry his collected wealth to the ships ; but let us put our enemies to the sword, and afterwards at your leisure you shall strip the dead over all the field.'*

These laws of war the primitive Greeks probably borrowed from the orientals, for in the civil war between the houses of Saul and David, when the troops of the former had suffered a complete defeat, Abner, the general of the Benjamites, advised Asahel, an officer of high rank in the victorious army, who had singled him out for his prey, to give up the pursuit, and content himself with the spoils of a meaner foe :— 'Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay hold on one of the young men, and take thee his armour;'† engage him in single combat, and having killed your victim, strip him on the spot, as you are entitled to do, by your rank and achievements. But the victorious army did not return to rifle the slain till the day after the battle :—'And it came to pass, on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three sons fallen in mount Gilboa.'‡

In Greece, 'the whole booty was brought to the general, who had the first choice, divided the remainder among those who had signalized themselves, ac-

* Iliad, lib. vi. l. 70. Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 106.
† 2 Sam. ii. 21. ‡ 1 Sam. xxxi. 8.

cording to their rank and merits, and allotted to the rest equal portions ; thus in the Trojan war, when the captive ladies were to be chosen, Agamemnon, in the first place, took Astynome, the daughter of Chryses ; next Achilles had Hippodamia, daughter to Briseis ; then Ajax chose Tecmessa, and so of the rest ; Achilles therefore complains of Agamemnon, that he had always the best part of the booty, while himself, who sustained the burden of the war, was content with a small pittance.'* From the time of David, the Hebrew warriors, as well those who went to the field, as those who guarded the baggage, shared alike ; the law is couched in these terms :—'As his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff.' But a more satisfactory account of the mode in which the spoils of vanquished nations were divided among the Hebrews, is recorded in the book of Numbers. The whole booty taken from the Midianites was brought before Moses, and Eleazer the priest, and the princes of the tribes ; they, by the divine command, divided it into two parts, between the army and the congregation ; of the army's half they took 'one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep, and gave it unto Eleazer the priest, for an heave-offering of the Lord ;' and of the congregation's half they took 'one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and gave them unto the Levites.'† This law probably continued in force till the captivity ; and according to its provisions, were the spoils of succeeding wars distributed ; for the regulation which David established referred only to this question, whether the soldiers, who from weakness were obliged to remain with the baggage, should have an equal share of the booty with their brethren in arms who had been engaged.

Before the spoils were distributed, the Greeks con-

* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 107. † Numb. xxxi. 28-30.

sidered themselves obliged to dedicate a part of them to the gods, to whose assistance they reckoned themselves indebted for them all.* This custom also, they borrowed from the orientals; for the Hebrews, in dividing the spoils of Midian, separated a portion for the service of the tabernacle; and the practice, so reasonable in itself, being imitated by the surrounding nations, at last found its way into Greece and other countries of Europe.

But besides the public offerings of the nation, the soldiers, often of their own accord, consecrated a part of their spoils to the god of battles: they had several methods of doing this; at one time they collected them into an heap, and consumed them with fire; at another, they suspended their offerings in the temples. Pausanias, the Spartan, is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian spoils, a tripod to Delphian Apollo, and a statue of brass seven cubits long, to Olympian Jupiter. The origin of these customs is easily discernible in the manners of the Hebrews. After the rich and various spoils of Midian were divided, the officers of the army, penetrated with gratitude that they had not lost a man in the contest, 'presented an oblation to the Lord, jewels of gold, chains, and bracelets, rings, ear-rings, and tablets, to make atonement,' as they piously expressed it, 'for their souls before the Lord.'† But the city of Jericho and all its inhabitants, except Rahab and her family, were devoted to utter destruction, as an offering to the justice and holiness of God, whom they had incensed by their crimes:—'And the city,' said Joshua, 'shall be accursed, even it, and all that are therein, to the Lord; only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent. . . . But all the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are consecrated unto the Lord; they shall come into the treasury of the Lord. . . . And they burnt

* Potter's Gr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 108. † Numb. xxxi. 49, 50.

the city with fire, and all that was therein; only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treasury of the house of the Lord.' *

When the demands of religion were satisfied, the Grecian soldiers commonly reserved articles of extraordinary value which they had obtained, as a present to their general or the commander of their party.† To this mark of respect, Deborah perhaps alludes in the words which she puts into the mouth of Sisera's mother and her attendants: — 'Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera, a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle-work, of divers colours of needle-work on both sides, meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?'‡ 'It has been,' says Malcolm, 'the invariable usage of all Asiatic conquerors, from the monarch who subdues kingdoms, to the chief that seizes a village, to claim some fair females as the reward of his conquest.' §

To the jewels of silver and gold, which the Hebrew soldier was accustomed to bring as a free-will offering into the treasury of his God, must be added the armour of some illustrious foe, which, in gratitude for his preservation, he suspended in the sanctuary. The sword of Goliath was wrapped up in a cloth, and deposited behind the ephod; and in a succeeding war, the Philistines, proving victorious, took their revenge by depositing the armour of Saul in the temple of Ashtaroth. The custom of dedicating to the gods the spoils of a conquered enemy, and placing them in their temples as trophies of victory and testimonies of gratitude, is very ancient, and universally received in Asia and Greece.‖ Hector promises to dedicate his enemy's

* Joshua vi. 17, 19, 24.
† Potter's Grec. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 108. ‡ Judges v. 30.
§ History of Persia, vol. i. p. 79, note; and p. 631, note.
‖ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 109.

armour in the temple of Apollo, if he would grant him the victory :—

Ει δέ κ' εγω τον ελω δωη δε μοι ευχος Απολλων, etc.
Il. lib. vii. l. 81.

'But if I shall prove victorious, and Apollo vouchsafe me the glory to strip off his armour, and carry it to sacred Troy, then will I suspend it in the temple of the far darting Apollo.'

Virgil alludes to this custom in his description of the temple, where Latinus gave audience to the ambassadors of Æneas :—

'Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,' &c.
Æn. lib. vii. l. 183.

'Besides, on the sacred door-posts, many arms, captive chariots, and crooked scimitars are suspended, helmets, crested plumes, and massy bars of gates, and darts, and shields, and beaks torn from ships.'

Nor was it the custom only to dedicate to heaven the weapons taken from an enemy, when the soldier retired from the tumults of war to the bosom of his family ; he frequently hung up his own arms in the temple, as a grateful acknowledgment of the protection he had received, and the victories he had won. Horace thus alludes to the practice :—

—— 'Vejanius, armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.' *

And Ovid refers to the same custom in these lines :—

'Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis annis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Lares.'

'The battered soldier worn out with age and the toils of war, devotes the arms which he formerly bore, to his ancient household gods.' †

In this custom, the Greeks and Romans imitated the Asiatic nations, and particularly the Hebrews; for, when David resigned the command of his armies to his generals, he laid up his arms in the tabernacle, where they

* Lib. i. Epistle, i. l. 4.

† Trist. lib. iv.

continued for several ages; and there is reason to believe his conduct in this respect, was followed by many of his companions in arms. When Joash, one of his descendants, was crowned, 'Jehoiada the high-priest,' under whose care he had been educated, 'delivered to the captains of hundreds, spears, and bucklers, and shields, that had been king David's, which were in the house of God.'*

The Greeks and other unenlightened nations of antiquity, as a further expression of their gratitude to the gods whom they worshipped, were accustomed to offer solemn sacrifices, and return public thanks to them for their protection and support.† The Hebrews, in like manner, under the direction of inspired prophets, celebrated their victories by triumphal processions, the women and children dancing, and playing upon musical instruments, and singing hymns and songs of triumph, to the living and true God. The song of Moses at the Red Sea, which was sung by Miriam and the women of Israel, to the dulcet notes of the timbrel, is a most beautiful example of the triumphal hymns of the ancient Hebrews.‡ The song of Deborah and Barak, after the decisive battle in which Sisera lost his life, and Jabin his dominion over the tribes of Israel, is a production of the same sort, in

* 2 Chron. xxiii. 9. [Mr C. Fellowes, in his recent interesting work on Asia Minor, informs us that he discovered in a certain town the Greek shield carved as an ornament upon the upper part of the walls, and appearing as if hung from the top.]—*Editor.*

† Potter's Grecian Antiq. vol. ii. p. 111.

‡ This custom is still kept up in India; and, as in the remote age of Miriam, the most distinguished female 'leads the dance, and is followed by a troop of young girls who imitate her steps, and if she sing, make up the chorus. The tune and figure seem to be unstudied, and the songs which accompany them are all extemporaneous effusions. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied, according to the pleasure of her who leads the dance, but always in exact time; and far more agreeable than any of our dances.'—*Forbes' Orient. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 295. In Turkey the same custom is retained, in all its parts. Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vol. i. p. 197.

which the spirit of genuine heroism and of true religion is admirably combined. But the song which the women of Israel chaunted when they went out to meet Saul and his victorious army, after the death of Goliath, and the discomfiture of the Philistines, possesses somewhat of a different character, turning chiefly on the valorous exploits of Saul and the youthful champion of Israel :—'And it came to pass, as they came, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing to meet king Saul with tabrets, with joy, and with instruments of music: And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands.'* But the most remarkable festivity perhaps on the records of history, was celebrated by Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, in a succeeding age. When that religious prince led forth his army to battle against a powerful confederacy of his neighbours, he appointed a band of sacred music to march in front, praising the beauty of holiness as they went before the army, 'and to say, Praise the Lord; for his mercy endureth for ever.' After the discomfiture of their enemies, he assembled his army in the valley of Berachah, near the scene of victory, where they resumed the anthem of religious praise :—'Then they returned, every man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the fore-front of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the Lord had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And they came to Jerusalem with psalteries, and harps, and trumpets, unto the house of the Lord.'† Instead of celebrating his own heroism, or the valour of his troops, on this memorable occasion, that excellent prince sung with his whole army the praises of the Lord of hosts, who disposes of the victory according to his pleasure. This conduct was becoming the descendant and successor of David, the man according to God's

* 1 Sam. xviii. 6. † 2 Chron. xx. 21, 27, 28.

own heart, and a religious people, the peculiar inheritance of Jehovah.

On some occasions the victor cut off the head of his enemy, and carried it in triumph on the point of a spear, and presented it, if a person of inferior rank, to his prince or the commander-in-chief. Barbarossa, the dey of Algiers, returned in triumph from the conquest of the kingdom of Cucco, with the head of the king, who had lost his life in the contest, carried before him on a lance. Mr Harmer thinks it probable that the Philistines cut off the head of Saul, whom they found among the slain, on Gilboa, to carry it in triumph on the point of a spear to their principal city, according to the custom of those times; and that David, in a preceding war, severed the head of Goliath from his body, for the purpose of presenting it to Saul, in the same manner, on the point of a lance. The words of the inspired historian do not determine the mode in which it was presented; we must therefore endeavour to form our opinion from the general custom of the East. The words of the record are:—'And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand.' It is scarcely to be supposed that the youthful warrior was introduced with the sword in the one hand, and the head of his enemy in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor; it is more reasonable to imagine, says Mr Harmer, that he appeared in a more graceful and warlike attitude, bearing on the point of a lance the head of his adversary.* But it must be confessed that the other idea, after all that respectable writer has said, is more naturally suggested by the words of the inspired historian.†

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 498, 499.

† Gracefulness and elegance are very little thought of in general by those who carry such ghastly tokens of triumph to their princes. A few years ago, a traveller, halting at a Khan in Syria, entered

It is a common practice in Turkey to cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, and lay them in heaps before the residence of their emperor, or his principal officers. In Persia, Mr Hanway saw a pyramid of human heads at the entrance of Astrabad. They were the heads of Persians who had rebelled against their sovereign.* This barbarous custom may be traced up to a very remote antiquity; and it was probably not seldom reduced to practice in the various governments of Asia.† When Jehu conspired against Ahab, he commanded the heads of his master's children, seventy in number, to be cut off, and brought in baskets to Jezreel, and 'laid in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the morning.' The renowned Xenophon says, in his Anabasis, that the same custom was practised by the Chalybes; and Herodotus makes the same remark in relation to the Scythians.‡

The Roman conquerors used to carry branches of palm in their hands, when they went in triumph to the capitol; and sometimes wore the *toga palmata*, a garment with the figures of palm-trees upon it, which were interwoven in the fabric. In the same triumphant attitude, the apostle John beheld in vision those who had overcome by the blood of the Lamb, standing 'before the throne, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.'§

When the Romans had, in their way of speaking, given peace to a nation, by extirpating the greatest part of the miserable inhabitants, they collected the arms of the vanquished, and setting them on fire, re-

into conversation with a person who was also taking refreshment there, and who carried something in a covered basket. He told the traveller he was going to Constantinople with the head of a rebel governor of Syria, as a present to the late Sultan. The basket was lying among heaps of other luggage.—*Editor.*

* Part iii. chap. 43, vol. i. p. 201.

† Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 500. Morier's Travels, vol. i. p. 180.

‡ Lib. ii. cap. 64. § Rev. vii. 9.

duced them to ashes. A medal struck by Vespasian, the Roman emperor, on finishing his wars in Italy, and other parts of the world, represents the goddess of peace holding an olive branch in one hand, and with a lighted torch in the other, setting fire to a heap of armour. The custom is thus alluded to by Virgil :—

> ' O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos!
> Qualis eram, cum primam aciem Præneste sub ipsa,
> Stravi, scutorumque incendi victor acervos.'
>
> *Æn.* lib. viii. l. 560.

' O that Jupiter would restore to me the years that are past! Such as I was, when under Præneste itself, I routed the foremost rank of the enemy, and victorious set fire to heaps of armour.'

The same practice, by the command of Jehovah, prevailed among the Jews; the first instance of it occurs in the book of Joshua :—' And the Lord said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them; for to-morrow about this time, will I deliver them up all slain before Israel; thou shalt hough their horses and burn their chariots with fire.'* It is also celebrated in the songs of Zion, as the attendant of peace, and the proof of its continuance :—' He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.'† In the description which Ezekiel gives of the divine judgments upon Gog, we find this passage :—' They that dwell in the cities of Israel shall go forth and shall set on fire, and burn the weapons, both the shields and the bucklers, the bow and arrows, and the hand staves, and the spears, and they shall burn them with fire seven years.'‡

The sword, and the head of the spear, which, being of iron or brass, the action of fire could not reduce to ashes, they converted into implements of industry; for the prediction of Isaiah certainly referred to a very general custom :—' They shall beat their swords into

* Josh. xi. 6. † Psalm xlvi. 9. ‡ Exek. xxxix. 9.

ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.'* This beautiful image of well-established peace has not escaped the taste and judgment of uninspired bards, if they were not indebted for it, either directly, or by means of others, to the sacred volume :—

> —— 'falx ex ense
> Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus.
> Agricolæ nunc sum; militis ante fui.'—*Martial*, xiv. 34.

'A scythe forged from the sword of a general, profound peace has bent me into the arts of peace: now I belong to a husbandman, formerly I was the property of a soldier.'

The highest military honour which could be obtained in the Roman state, was a triumph, or solemn procession, in which a victorious general and his army advanced through the city, to the capitol. He set out from the Campus Martius, and proceeded along the Via Triumphalis, and from thence through the most public places of the city. The streets were strewed with flowers, and the altars smoked with incense. First went a numerous band of music, singing and playing triumphal songs; next were led the oxen to be sacrificed, having their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with fillets and garlands; then in carriages were brought the spoils taken from the enemy; also golden crowns sent by the allied and tributary states. The titles of the vanquished nations were inscribed on wooden frames; and images or representations of the conquered countries and cities were exhibited. The captive leaders followed in chains, with their children and attendants; after the captives came the lictors, having their fasces wreathed with laurel, followed by a great company of musicians and dancers, dressed like satyrs, and wearing crowns of gold: in the midst of whom was a pantomime, clothed in a female garb,

* Isaiah ii. 4.

whose business it was, with his looks and gestures, to insult the vanquished; a long train of persons followed, carrying perfumes; after them came the general, dressed in purple, embroidered with gold, with a crown of laurel on his head, a branch of laurel in his right hand, and in his left an ivory sceptre, with an eagle on the top, his face painted with vermilion, and a golden ball hanging from his neck on his breast; he stood upright in a gilded chariot, adorned with ivory and drawn by four white horses, attended by his relations, and a great crowd of citizens, all in white. His children rode in the chariot along with him, his lieutenants and military tribunes, commonly by his side. After the general, followed the consuls and senators on foot; the whole procession was closed by the victorious army drawn up in order, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the gifts which they had received for their valour, singing their own and their general's praises.* The triumphal procession was not confined to the Romans; the Greeks had a similar custom, for the conquerors used to make a procession through the middle of their city, crowned with garlands, repeating hymns and songs, and brandishing their spears; the captives followed in chains, and all their spoils were exposed to public view. †

The great apostle of the Gentiles alludes to these splendid triumphal scenes, in his epistle to the Ephesians, where he mentions the glorious ascension of his Redeemer into heaven :—'When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.'‡ These words are a quotation from the sixty-eighth Psalm, where David in spirit, describes the ascension of Messiah in very glowing colours :—'The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels; the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led

* Adam's Roman Antiquities, p. 389.

† Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 111. ‡ Eph. iv. 8.

captivity captive,' or an immense number of captives: —'Thou hast received gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them. Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with his benefits, even the God of our salvation; Selah.'* Knowing the deep impression which such an allusion is calculated to make on the mind of a people familiarly acquainted with triumphal scenes, the apostle returns to it in his epistle to the Colossians, which was written about the same time :—'Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.'† After obtaining a complete victory over all his enemies, he ascended in splendour and triumph into his Father's presence on the clouds of heaven, the chariots of the Most High, thousands of holy angels attending in his train; he led the devil and all his angels, together with sin, the world, and death, as his spoils of war, and captives in chains, and exposed them to open contempt and shame, in the view of all his angelic attendants, triumphing like a glorious conqueror over them, in virtue of his cross, upon which he made complete satisfaction for sin, and by his own strength, without the assistance of any creature, destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. And as mighty princes are accustomed to scatter largesses among the people, and reward their companions in arms with a liberal hand, when, laden with the spoils of vanquished nations, they returned to their capital; so the conqueror of death and hell, when he ascended far above all heavens, and sat down in the midst of the throne, shed forth in vast abundance the choicest blessings of the Spirit, upon people of every tongue and of every nation.

The officers and soldiers also, were rewarded according to their merit.‡ Among the Romans, the noblest reward which a soldier could receive, was the civic

* Psalm lxviii. 17, 18. † Colossians ii. 15.
‡ Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 116.

crown, given to him who had saved the life of a citizen, made of oak leaves, and, by order of the general, presented by the person who had been saved to his preserver, whom he ever after respected as a parent. Alluding to this high distinction, the apostle says to his son Timothy :—'I have fought a good fight . . . henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day ; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.'* And lest any one should imagine, that the Christian's crown is perishable in its nature, and soon fades away, like a crown of oak leaves, the apostle Peter assures the faithful soldier of Christ, that his crown is infinitely more valuable and lasting :—'Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.'† And this account is confirmed by James :—'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that fear him.'‡

The military crowns were conferred by the general in presence of the army ; and such as received them, after a public eulogium on their valour, were placed next his person. The Christian also receives his unmerited reward from the hand of the Captain of his salvation :—'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.§ And like the brave veteran of ancient times, he is promoted to a place near his Lord :—'To him that overcometh, will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne.'|| The saints must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, who will produce the proofs of their fidelity before assembled worlds, to justify the sentence he is about to pronounce. Holy angels will applaud the justice of the proceeding, and condemned spirits, and

* 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. † 1 Peter v. 4. ‡ James i. 12.
§ Rev. ii. 16. || Ch. iii. 21.

reprobate men will have nothing to object; then, while he pronounces a sentence which at once eulogizes their conduct, and announces their honourable acquittal, —'Well done, good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord;' he will set upon their heads a crown of pures gold, put a palm of victory into their right hand, clothe them in robes of celestial brightness, and place them around his throne:—'And so shall they be for ever with the Lord.'*

* 1 Thes. iv. 17.

CHAPTER XIV.*

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE MODE OF TRAVELLING AMONG THE ORIENTALS.

Constitution, as well as long habit, superinduced and fostered by the influence of an enervating climate, has made the orientals generally averse to much bodily exertion. With minds in a state of knowledge nearly stagnant for centuries, and with the means of gratifying the senses placed easily within their reach by the prodigal hand of nature, they have few or no temptations to wander abroad in quest of variety; so that when not engaged in business, the chief enjoyment of their monotonous life, is to recline in luxurious indolence on their divans at home, or to sit on the bare ground beneath the shade of a wide-spreading tree, smoking their chiboucques in silence, or listening in groups to the recital of some lively tale. A walk for the sake of pleasure or exercise is a pastime they seldom or never dream of; and Europeans, whose pedestrian habits lead them frequently to put their locomotive powers in action, appear in their eyes a strange and unaccountable people, who voluntarily incur trouble and fatigue, when they could easily avoid them. Necessity, however, occasionally obliges people in the East, as well as in other quarters of the world, to leave the seclusion of their harems, and travel to a greater

* The two concluding chapters being wholly supplied by the Editor, this notice is substituted instead of the continued announcement by brackets.

or less distance from home; and, while the scale on which preparations are made for those expeditions must of course be different according to the length and importance of the journey, or the rank and resources of the party contemplating it, the whole style of their travelling equipage, as well as the regulations of their stages, their means of accommodation, and other incidents of travel, exhibit as strongly the features of oriental life, as either the economy of their domestic establishment, or the phases of their social manners. When a journey is to be performed on foot, the simple outfit of the pedestrian consists of a scrip slung across the shoulder in the form and manner of a soldier's knapsack, containing, among a few articles for change of clothing, a small store of provisions, and a skin-bottle of water,—both of which, being of indispensable necessity for the refreshment of the traveller, are described as forming the whole viaticum which Ishmael carried with him from his father's tent to penetrate into the wilderness of Shur.* The feet, which at home are commonly entire strangers to the luxury of stockings or slippers, are protected on going abroad by the slender covering of clogs or sandals, which, on soft and grassy paths, are frequently taken off, but, in long and fatiguing journeys, are cased in stout short boots or buskins, reaching half way up the leg, and lined inside with the natural wool or hair, whose softness recommends it as greatly contributing to the wearer's comfort. The loose flowing robes being tightly bound around the waist, he further tucks up the fore-parts in his girdle,—which is what is properly meant by having the loins girt,†—so as to leave the leg, from the knee downwards, bare and unencumbered in its motions by the entanglements of the skirt; and at the end of that belt of worsted or silk, which in numerous folds encircles the person, he deposits his money—the traveller's best passport all the world over—in a purse formed by the doubling up

* Genesis xxi. 14. † Exodus xii. 11.

of one of its extremities. In his hand he carries a staff, curved at the top like a shepherd's crook,—an accompaniment so useful, and, indeed, indispensable, either as a support to bear up, when overcome with heat and fatigue, and in making one's way over rocky and unequal ground, or as a pioneer to point out a firm footing, where the path has a sandy or marshy bottom, that most travellers still, as they did anciently, take the precaution of providing a spare stick in case of accidents.* In this style of preparation, which is according to the immemorial usage of the East, it is most likely that the disciples of Jesus were equipped for the frequent excursions they took with their Master through Judea. But when he despatched the seventy on their mission to preach the gospel of the kingdom through all the cities and villages, he exhorted them to 'take nothing for their journey, neither staves, neither scrip, neither bread, nor money in their purses, neither to have two coats a-piece;' for on that memorable occasion he was desirous of teaching them a lesson, not only of the generous and open-hearted hospitality they might expect from those to whom they ministered in sacred things,—but especially of the firm and confident reliance they might place on the paternal bounty of Him, in whose service they were engaged, and whose special and ever vigilant providence, accompanying them in all the incidents of their travel, would render unnecessary those careful preparations that were usually made for encountering the toils and perils of a distant expedition.†

* Psalm xxiii. 4. 'The Arabs,' says Dr Robinson, 'and others whom we saw, carried in their hands a small stick, or staff, about three feet long, having a crook at the top, with an oblong head parallel to the staff, and cut in a peculiar form. This is worth mentioning, as presenting a remarkable instance of the permanency of oriental customs; for this very stick, precisely in the same form, appears in the hands of figures, sculptured on the walls of Theban temples.'—*Robinson's Biblical Researches*, vol. i. p. 93.

† Luke ix. 1.

People of rank and consequence perform their journeys in greater or less state on beasts of burden. Horses, mules, asses, and camels, are the animals commonly employed in this service; the mules being valuable for the extraordinary sagacity and sure-footedness they display in traversing steep and rugged places; the asses held in great repute for their colour, size, symmetry, and fleetness;* and camels for their docility of temper, and their great powers of patient and persevering endurance. It was on mules that numbers of the Hebrew exiles were transported from their long captivity to the land of their fathers.† It was on asses, —as the most stately and dignified mode of conveyance in primitive times,—that Abraham, Balaam, the daughter of Caleb, the judges of Israel, and a greater still, our Lord himself,—chose to ride, when they travelled abroad.‡ And camels are so constantly mentioned in the history of the patriarchal expeditions, that, in the imagination of every one, they are associated as an inseparable element in all preparations for journeying, especially in the pastoral or desert parts of the East. In the absence of all details and notices in the sacred history, as to the manner of equipping either the rider or his beast for their equestrian journeys, we are led, from the unchangeable customs of the East, to suppose that it would be similar to the practice of the present day, which may be briefly described as follows:—The feet of the quadruped, which, when grazing or tied up, are left in a state of nature, are prepared for a journey by being cased in shoes of leather or iron, which envelope the whole foot.§ The simple saddle,

* Asses in the East stand fourteen hands high.

† Isaiah lxvi. 20; Ezra ii. 66.

‡ Genesis xxii. 3; Numbers xxii. 21; Joshua xv. 18; Matthew xxi. 7.

§ Hence Isaiah praises a flinty hoof, which needs no such defences, v. 28. And Amos, speaking of horses in general, describes it to be as impracticable for them, without this protection to the foot, to run over hard rocks, as it is for oxen to plough it, vi. 12.

which of course cannot boast of the convenience of stirrups,* is formed of a large piece of cloth folded several times, and fastened on the back of the animal; and hence the disciples, who brought the ass on which our Lord made his triumphant entry into Jerusalem, 'put their clothes upon it, and set him thereon.' Thus mounted, a servant attends at the side, or follows immediately behind, whose office it is, with a long switch or whip, to urge on the animal at a pace more or less rapid, according to the wishes and commands of his master. Multitudes of the higher classes may be seen every day in Cairo, and other oriental cities, moving with great dexterity through the crowded thoroughfares, followed by their servant, who every now and then applies his whip to keep up or accelerate the animal's speed; and the reader will remember that the Shunammite, in her breathless anxiety to apprise Elisha of the sudden death of her only son, ordered one of her attendants to accompany her on this service, and to drive her ass with all the expedition possible. This is the mode of travelling observed by riders when they journey singly; but in family excursions, when the same means of conveyance are employed, instead of the pad which serves as a substitute for a saddle, covered chests, made of a slight frame of wood, or a basket of osiers, are suspended on either side of the animal, like panniers, which are furnished inside with seats, and afford a comfortable and convenient shelter from the sun and the rain. It is, however, pastoral chiefs of the wealthiest class only, who are at the expense of providing these conveniences for their wives and children; and it seems to have been a counie, or covered chest of this sort, that Rachel occupied, when, in her journey from Mesopotamia, she put the images

* Chateaubriand, like other Europeans who cannot ride without them, informs us, that in proceeding on horseback from Jaffa to Jerusalem, he and his friends were accommodated with cords, which, tied to those pads, served them as stirrups.

she had stolen from her father in the 'camel's furniture,' and sat upon them.

Persons of the highest condition only enjoyed, in ancient times, the honour of riding in chariots. Some of these were no doubt kept as state carriages, and were distinguished by the difference of their livery, or the splendour of their equipage, according as the owner belonged to the first or secondary rank; as Pharoah, for instance, and Joseph, who was promoted to the privilege of riding in the second chariot of the kingdom. Others, however, were manifestly intended for the purposes of travelling, as that in which Ahab returned from Carmel to his palace, from the memorable contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal,* as well as that in which the Ethiopian nobleman was sitting while passing through the deserts of Gaza.† Of what particular form these vehicles were built, it is impossible with any accuracy to determine; although it is extremely probable, that they were similar to those which are still to be seen represented on the monuments,—light and elegant, but not capable of being driven at a very rapid rate, if we may judge from the circumstance of Elijah, then advanced in years, joining the running footmen who preceded the car of the king of Israel, and of Philip's overtaking the eunuch, who was moreover quietly and leisurely sitting with the Bible in his hand, beguiling the tedium of the way with the interesting and sublime scroll of the evangelical prophet.

Besides these, a humbler description of wheel-carriages is mentioned in the sacred history,—the cart on which the Philistines re-conveyed the ark into the land of Canaan,‡—and the waggons which the viceroy of Egypt sent to bring down his aged father and the whole families of Israel to reside in the land of his adoption.§ The first in all probability resembled the carts still in use in the mountainous and remoter

* 1 Kings xviii. 45.
† Acts viii. 29.
‡ 1 Sam. vi. 7.
§ Genesis xlv. 19.

parts of Palestine, which are described as the rudest imaginable, the wheels being low and circular pieces of wood, exhibiting as little device as two large cheeses, and the body equally primitive and lumbering in its construction.* The latter, which, from their connexion with the history of Joseph, would be built in the Egyptian style, were probably the same as those which are still seen in the ancient sculptures and paintings of that celebrated country,—covered waggons, light, but without springs.

The slow motion of those machines did not result entirely from their imperfect and clumsy construction, as travelling in the East has, on other accounts, always been a difficult, and often a hazardous undertaking. Those who are accustomed to the smooth, solid, and level roads, with which the genius and science of Macadam has intersected all parts of Britain, can scarcely form any idea of a country, where there are either no roads at all, or such only as have been tracked as a passage for centuries. With the exception of those causeways, some of which still exist, which owe their origin to the military skill and activity of the Romans, Palestine cannot boast scarcely of a single road, which, according to our standard, deserves the name. Many of them, formed on the antiquated principle of reaching by the shortest distance two given points, lead over steep and almost perpendicular heights, which, in their course, are diversified here by craggy precipices, and there by sudden and deep hollows. Some, having no solid bottom, are, after floods, completely broken up with ravines produced by the torrents, with accumulations of sand and mud, and pieces of rock washed away from their former seat, and lodged in the very centre of the path,—so that a band of labourers, as is usually the case after rains, to level mounds, fill up ditches, and remove all sorts of impediments, is absolutely necessary to precede a traveller either on

* Monro, vol. ii. p. 290.

horseback or in a wheel-carriage, otherwise his progress is necessarily slow, occasioned by the great care requisite to prevent accidents, and the circuitous paths that must be taken to avoid the obstructions that lie in the way. Others, again, are merely footpaths, through fields trodden down by the feet of the passengers, and so narrow that they do not admit of two persons going abreast; and hence we need not wonder at Balaam's ass being arrested in its progress by the presence of the angel, as, if roads elsewhere were formed, as they seem generally to have been in Palestine and Greece, in ancient times, on the same rigid economy of ground, or ignorance of road-making, the mode of travelling must have been in Indian file, each person planting his feet almost in the steps of the one who walks before.

But the greatest inconvenience and danger incident to travelling in the East, is when the line of the road lies across a river. In this country, it seldom becomes a subject of anxious inquiry, whether a stream be fordable or not, as bridges in all frequented parts of the land, are at convenient intervals thrown over every current of water; and these are so spacious and safe, that they can be passed at midnight, not only with comfort, but often without awaking a suspicion that there is any deviation from the solid road. But in countries where there are no bridges, or these are 'few and far between,' the case is very different; especially when, as it often happens, there may be a large company of people to pass, men, women, and children, together with sheep and cattle. Sometimes, if the river is swollen, they have to halt upon the banks for hours, and even days; and at other times, the natural depth of the water is so great, that a passage cannot be effected with safety, except at particular localities. The confusion and delay that must ensue at the passage of a caravan, may be easily imagined; and Mr Campbell has described such a scene, as it occurred, so naturally, that we are tempted to

give it in his own words: — 'While crossing a river,' says he, 'when twilight was almost gone, and darkness was rapidly advancing, my waggon stuck fast in the mud, when about half across. The twelve oxen that were yoked to it, could not stir the waggon an inch, nor could the addition of twelve more oxen effect a movement, owing to a sudden rise at the opposite side, which prevented their drawing unitedly. After a council held by my men, respecting the best means to be used for extricating the waggon and myself from our awkward position, they untied the oxen from the fore part of the waggon, and fastened them to the hinder part, and by that ingenious method the waggon was drawn backwards out of the river. At another time, I was stopped nine or ten days at the side of the Great Orange River, before I was able to get across, being about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Even after discovering a ford, we were two hours hard at work before all the waggons, men, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs, were got safely over. To prevent my grumbling at being detained ten days by that formidable river, I was told of some who had been detained six weeks by the same obstruction, and that many oxen and sheep have been carried down by the force of the stream, and lost, when attempting to cross it. In such emergencies, how valuable and important the literal accomplishment of the promise, 'When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.'* Palestine, like other oriental countries, was a stranger to the accommodation of bridges; and hence, in passing through them, multitudes presented a spectacle, which is now only witnessed in our country amongst children wading for pleasure in the rivulets, and tucking up their petticoats between their legs. Numbers of both sexes, though chiefly of the lower orders, in India and Persia, ford rivers and brooks in this manner—while persons of

* Isaiah xliii. 2.

higher rank employ servants to carry them across; and hence one may easily perceive the pointed meaning in Isaiah's description of the coming degradation of Babylon, when, by a beautiful personification, he represents that proud city, dethroned from her exalted condition as a tender and delicate lady, and reduced to the mean and despicable state of a slave, forced not only to travel on foot, bare-headed and with dishevelled locks, but even to ford rivers, 'making bare the leg, uncovering the thigh,' like the lowest of the people.*

When a person sets out on a distant journey, and has the prospect of a long absence, it is customary for a number of his friends and neighbours to escort him several miles on the road, some of them expressing, in their tedious manner, frequent wishes for his health and prosperity; and others playing all the while some appropriate air on a variety of instruments, from the benevolent wish, that the last sounds which die upon his ear as he parts from home, may be those of pleasantness and joy. Jacob, by his clandestine flight from the house of his father-in-law, deprived his friends in Mesopotamia of an opportunity of giving him the customary tribute; and hence we find Laban, on overtaking the fugitive, upbraiding him with this violation of the friendly customs of his country:—'Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret and with harp.'† The same lively and pleasant manner of testifying their kind feelings is observed by the orientals on the return of a friend after a long absence. If apprised of the certainty and the time of his approach, they will go out, wait for him at the last stage, and give him an affectionate welcome all the way home with vocal and instrumental music, dedicating the rest of the night to festivity, enlivened with noisy expressions of delight, and an endless succession of songs and

* Isaiah xlvii. 2. † Genesis xxxi. 27.

dancing. With the knowledge of these circumstances, the concluding part of the parable of the prodigal son, which represents the tender-hearted old man giving a magnificent fête to his household in celebration of his long-lost son's auspicious return, will appear a picture of a common domestic occurrence drawn from life.

The ordinary rate of travelling is about two miles and a half an hour; and this, reckoning thirteen hours, will amount to thirty miles a-day, which is considered in this quarter of the world a good day's performance. In the East, however, generally distance is computed not by the number of miles, but hours spent on the journey, so that on inquiry, how far it may be from one place to another, the answer will be given by telling how many hours it will occupy to reach it.

In the temperate season of the year, the customary time of the day for a traveller to set out, is to start at sun-rise, and to continue till the day be pretty far advanced before he applies for lodging, or bivouacks for the night; allusions to these stated intervals of progress and halting are frequently met with in sacred history. Jacob, Lot, the Marys when repairing to the sepulchre, and many others, are described as commencing their journey very early in the morning; and with regard to the afternoon being the ordinary time for closing the labours of the day, two examples may be adduced. The Levite, who went to Bethlehem-Judah to fetch home his wife, was addressed by her father in these terms of pressing hospitality to prolong his stay: —'Behold now the day draweth toward evening; I pray you tarry all night; behold the day groweth to an end (or as it is literally in the original, the pitching-time of day); lodge here that thine heart may be merry.'* The other refers to a most interesting period in the Saviour's history, when, after his resurrection, he appeared to two of his disciples, who were on their way to the little village of Emmaus, and

* Judges xix. 9.

whose minds were too deeply engrossed with the eventful scenes they had lately witnessed, to mark with close attention the features of the person who accosted them, till, charmed by his conversation, and the new light he poured on the mystic pages of Moses and the prophets, they pressed the interesting stranger to 'abide with them, for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent.'* As this inteview took place in spring, there can be no doubt that the disciples, in inviting their then unknown guest to partake of their hospitality, spoke according to the customs of the time and place, which at that season made it usual to give up all thoughts of further progress in the afternoon.

In the summer or hot season, travellers make a different distribution of the day; starting at an early hour in the morning, they march on till noon, when, pitching their tent, they partake of the refreshment of food and sleep; and, setting out again late in the afternoon, prosecute their journey till midnight. At that time of the year, therefore, when travellers are generally abroad till an advanced hour of the night, the gates of most eastern cities are kept open; and Doubdan tells us that, on arriving at the gates of Jerusalem at that period, with a caravan of more than a thousand people, the surprise was universal on finding the gates closed,—an unusual circumstance, which, however, was satisfactorily explained to have been a temporary precaution adopted in consequence of a recent insurrection in the neighbourhood.† Mr Monro relates that, on reaching a small village at midnight, he found the few inhabitants had retired to rest at the late hour when his party arrived. 'But,' says he, 'the transition from sleep to a state of activity, is a momentary process with an oriental. Wearing by night the same clothing which covers him by day, he rises, and comes forth from his mat, with as little preparation as he lies down; and we had no sooner succeeded, after some loud

* Luke xxiv. 29. † Ray's Collect. of Trav. part i. p. 19.

knocking, in awakening the inmates of the house at which we applied for admission, than our horses were taken care of, a place assigned to us to sleep on, and a dish of yoorgout, and the usual coarse thin cakes set before us.'* Notwithstanding the much-lauded hospitality of the East,—and in villages and the pastoral districts, it deserves all the admiration it has received,—the inhabitants of large towns are less accomodating, and much importunity has sometimes to be employed before they will be prevailed upon to rise and afford admission, at so unseasonable an hour. Our Lord was alluding to the common and well-known customs of his country, when, in a brief parable, he described a traveller throwing himself on the hospitality of a friend at midnight ;† as well as when, in a solemn admonition to his disciples, he said,—'Watch ye, therefore ; for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at *midnight*, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning.'‡

Such appeals to the kindness of friends were made, and the rites of hospitality ensured, by means of *tesseræ hospitales* among the Greeks and Romans, and letters of commendation among the primitive Christians. But among the orientals that custom has never obtained ; and although the entertainment of strangers is considered a sacred duty, and, in the day time, a welcome invitation is never withheld from the wayfaring man, yet at midnight, unless the traveller has a tie of friendship, or other strong claims, he may not find admission at so late an hour ; and, accordingly, it is not uncommon for travellers to pass the night in the streets. A trace of this practice occurs so early as the days of Lot ; for the angels who came to him in the character and garb of travellers, to rescue that patriarch and his family from the impending doom of Sodom, announced their intention,

* Summer Ramble in Syria, vol. ii. p. 275.
† Luke xi. 5. ‡ Mark xiii. 35.

rather than trust themselves in the houses of that infamous city, to 'abide in the streets all night.'* The inconvenience of sleeping in this exposed situation is much less than might be expected; for although the sudden transition from the melting heats of the day to the piercing cold and copious dews of night, is trying enough, yet the weary traveller, snugly wrapping himself in the folds of his capacious hyke, soon loses, in the sweet oblivion of sleep, all sensibility to his houseless condition.

This double use of raiment, which thus serves for a mantle by day, and a counterpane by night, is of the greatest advantage to the way-faring man, who can thus, like Jacob, with a stone or his wallet for a pillow, enjoy repose, independently of place, whenever he needs it. The Israelites, when journeying through the wilderness, had no other bed-clothes than what was furnished by the adoption of this simple expedient; and it was therefore a humane provision, a benevolent law of that God, who chose them, and whose gracious attentions were directed to 'consider the poor,' that the raiment that was pledged should be restored to the owner 'by that the sun goeth down: for that is his covering only; it is his raiment for his skin; wherein shall he sleep?'†

When a party bivouack or spend the night in the open air, one of the first things they do is to gather sticks to kindle a fire, which, besides being necessary for culinary purposes, is always felt, even in the midst of summer, to be necessary and grateful; and, besides, in remote and desert places, it is the best security against the attacks of wild beasts, who stand in awe of flames; and, therefore, all travellers and caravans, in passing through unfrequented districts, place fires in various directions around their encampment. 'This was our constant practice,' says Mr Campbell, 'in the wilds of Africa; when the fires were burning, we were

* Gen. xix. 2. † Exodus xxii. 26.

in perfect safety, as no undomesticated animal, however ferocious, will approach near to fire. There is something in its brightness that seems to give alarm.' The complete defence, the perfect security, which a circle of fires gives to a company of wayfarers, is metaphorically used by the prophet Zechariah, to convey an idea of the constant protection which the Lord will afford his church, the new Jerusalem, the society of believers, who are travelling through the wilderness of this world to the city of habitation:—"Jerusalem shall be inhabited as towns without walls, for the multitude of men and cattle therein; for I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a WALL OF FIRE round about." '*

The first mention of an inn occurs in connexion with the history of Joseph, and that being situated within the confines of Egypt, and at the first stage from the metropolis, such places of accommodation, which were unknown in the pastoral regions frequented by the patriarchs, were probably of Egyptian origin.† But the ideas which that word suggests of magnificence and splendour without, of luxuriousness and comfort within, greatly mislead the mind of the reader, if he supposes that eastern people can boast of any accommodations at all corresponding to the sumptuous hotels, or even the common public houses of this country. The inn where Joseph's brethren halted was in all likelihood, from the stationary character of oriental manners,—though the earliest we read of,—not ruder in construction, nor meaner in character, than the khans or caravansaries which afford lodgings to the traveller in the present day; and yet the contrast between a British inn, where all the luxuries in the world are at command, and the houses that still go by that name in the East, is as great as that between a nobleman's mansion and a peasant's hut amongst us.

The fact is, that caravansaries or khans (for the two words mean the same thing, only the one is applied to

* Zechariah ii. 4, 5. † Genesis xlii. 27.

buildings designed for the reception of travellers in the country or in deserts, while the other is applied to similar erections in the precincts of towns), have little to recommend them beyond the shelter they afford from the heat of the sun, and the night damp. Some, indeed, in large cities, where rich traders halt with regular caravans, and warehouse their goods, being rented by these men of substance principally for their own use, are considerable establishments. Some even have the appearance of elegant palaces, being surrounded by a lofty wall of fine brickwork, which generally rests on a base of stone, and is surmounted by some devices of ornamental masonry. In the centre of this outer wall is a spacious archway, on each side of which are the apartments occupied by the keeper, who, besides having the charge of the inn, generally superintends a small shop, where the commodities most needed for the refreshment of travellers can be procured. This high and magnificent portal opens into an extensive quadrangle, three sides of which are lined by a continued piazza, running along the wall, and showing a vast number of open door-ways, which lead into the interior of the building. These are the travellers' apartments, or rather cells, for they are extremely small; and yet, in establishments of this order, they are for the most part neatly paved, furnished with a fire-place, and recesses for a cupboard and table; but in other respects they are totally unfurnished, ill-lighted, and very solitary, having no means of communication but by the door, which opens into the court. In the middle of each of the three sides is a large hall, a sort of traveller's room, where the motley group of inmates meet, converse, smoke, and amuse themselves at pleasure. Between the back wall of this range of apartments and the outer wall of the building, is another series of chambers, still smaller, for the accommodation of the servants and poor people; and close to this, within the same enclosure, are the stables for

the cattle, which, however, in good weather, are seldom housed, being allowed to litter in the spacious court-yard, for the convenience of being near the well or fountain that occupies the centre of the area. Others, again, are even of a more ambitious character than the khan now described, having two storeys, one above the ground-floor; in which case, the lower storey is appropriated to the use of the servants, or serves as stables for cattle, and warehouses for baggage, while the upper apartments are reserved for the lodging of the masters. These, as might be expected, can boast of many other comforts, especially in the possession of cooks and other attendants to supply the wants of the lodgers. Khans, however, of this superior description are not often met with, and the generality of them are little else than bare walls, and receptacles of dirt and vermin,—their only recommendation being that of their being situated at convenient distances for resting, and their always ensuring a plentiful supply of water. The traveller who goes to them requires to provide every thing for his own accommodation, to furnish his own carpet, produce his own kitchen utensils, cook his own victuals, spread his own bed, kindle his own fire, feed his own cattle, unless he has a servant upon whom those offices devolve;* for no assistance must he expect from the keeper of the khan, except that of giving him the key of his apartment, if it be provided with a door, and shewing him the way to it. One service alone that functionary may render,—that of attendance

* 'On account of the poverty of the inns,' says Volney, 'the orientals contrive their equipages in the most simple and portable manner. The baggage of a man who wishes to be completely provided, consists of a carpet, a mattress, a blanket, two saucepans, with lids contained within each other, two dishes, two plates, &c., coffee-pot, all of copper well-tinned, a small wooden box for salt and pepper, a round leather table, which he suspends from the saddle of his horse, small leather bottles or bags for oil, melted butter, water, a pipe, a tinder-box, a cup of cocoa-nut, some rice, dried raisins, dates, cypress cheese, and above all, coffee-berries, with a roaster and wooden mortar to pound them.'

upon him, if he is sick or wounded,—one of the qualifications for his office being a knowledge of simples, and of the most approved practice in cases of fractures or common ailments. And hence, in the parable of the good Samaritan, that humane traveller, after having, with pious care, dressed the wounds of the unfortunate stranger, and conveyed him to the nearest inn, committed him, on parting, to the charge of the host or keeper, whose skill and disposition to bestow the requisite attentions, would, doubtless, be the more cheerfully exercised that the means were furnished him for defraying the expenses.

It is for one of those solitary khans, the appearance of which, in a wild and barren desert where not one trace of human workmanship is to be seen, must awake feelings of the most exquisite delight, that Jeremiah longed, when he exclaimed,—'Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging-place for way-faring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them.'*

The multitudes that resort to these lodging-places at certain seasons, such as on the periodical arrival of a caravan, or the return of a religious festival, are so great, that hundreds cannot be accommodated; and the consequence is, that, while the apartments of the khan, such as they are, are instantly engaged by the better class, who can afford to pay the high rate demanded on such occasions, crowds of poor are content to take up their quarters in the out-houses, where they lie promiscuously strewed among the cattle, happy if each can deposit himself in the neighbourhood of his own. Nor is the situation really so uncomfortable as may be naturally supposed, when the nakedness and poverty of the bed-chambers are taken into account. A recent traveller informs us, that the first night of his arrival in Jerusalem, which, unfortunately for his personal comfort, happened to be on the feast of Easter, he found the khan crammed as full as it could hold with guests.

* Jeremiah ix. 2.

Multitudes of pilgrims were appearing every hour; but although the house was one of the most extensive and commodious of the kind, being capable of receiving eight hundred persons, every tenantable apartment was occupied by wealthy people, who had sent their servants several days before to pre-engage them; while multitudes of the poorer sort were lodged in the stables and sheds of the court.* The stables, as already described, are ranged at the back of the lodgers' apartments, and have an open niche at the head of each horse, through which the owner can, as often as he chooses, command a view of his cattle from the window of his chamber, which, for that purpose is always raised a few steps higher than the level of the court. At these niches are placed the mangers, which, however, bear no resemblance to those we have in Britain; being troughs hollowed in the earth, and often lined with stone, in which is laid the chopped straw, the usual provender of cattle in the East. They are so large, that a child can conveniently lie in them; and it was while Joseph and Mary were driven by the crowd of visitors in Bethlehem, who had filled every corner of the inn, to take refuge in the stable, that our blessed Lord was born, and laid in the manger. What mind that reflects upon this astonishing event, is not overwhelmed with amazement at the humility of the Son of God. He, by whose creative word universal nature started into being, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, made his entrance into this world, on which he condescended, in our nature, for a time to dwell,—not among the great and mighty, but among the poorest of the poor. He that could command the wealth of worlds, could not find room in an inn, but was forced to make his first lodging on earth with the beasts of the stall!

Besides the discomforts and privations inseparable from travelling in the East, owing to the thinly scattered

* Carne's Letters from the East.

population in many places, and the wretched accommodation the khans afford, it is attended with a variety of dangers, some of which are common to it with other quarters of the world, while others are indigenous and peculiar to warm climates. Foremost in the list of these we place 'perils of robbers.' Every one is aware of the fierce character of the Arabs, who, from time immemorial, have exercised exclusive dominion in the desert, — who live by plunder, and maintain their rights by the sword, and by the lawless exercise of force. A rencounter with these formidable banditti, it is almost impossible for any who pass near their territories to escape, as parties of them are continually lurking behind rocks or among the thickets of the wells, or scouring with incredible velocity the boundless plains, to surprise caravans, and all who venture on a passage through their dangerous neighbourhood; and, in most cases, nothing but invincible courage, or the greatest address, can save the traveller from pillage, captivity, or death. Few works connected with the history and manners of that singular race, but contain many painful and affecting narratives of the annoyance and opposition they give to those who penetrate the desert.

Besides, in all the countries of the East,—even the most settled, with scarcely an exception, the police are so weak, indolent and faithless, that people of the same predatory habits with the Arabs, are found everywhere infesting the roads, and pursuing with impunity their lawless practices; and, in Palestine especially, it is well known, that it would be the height of imprudence and fool-hardiness to attempt travelling to any distance without being well armed, or under the protection of a military escort. Among the ancient inhabitants of that interesting country, the laws of social order were doubtless held in greater respect; yet it appears from occasional notices in the works of Josephus, that throughout the whole history of the Hebrews, thefts

and robberies were far from being unfrequent. More especially in the latter periods of their history, the country was dreadfully infested with bands of robbers; who, finding refuge among the mountains, swarmed in such numbers, and committed such wide-spread and systematic outrages, that Herod the Great, with all his energy, and with the assistance of a numerous army, found the greatest difficulty in repressing their violence. That prince himself was, afterwards, indirectly the cause of increasing the number of those enemies of order; for, at one time, he dismissed no less than 40,000 labourers, who, not finding immediate employment, and being let loose on society, took to supporting themselves by highway robbery. The neighbourhood of Jerusalem, being a constant thoroughfare, owing to the custom of country people whom business and the sale of their commodities led daily to the capital, was frequently selected as the scene of their depredations; and in the parable of the good Samaritan, our Lord gave a narrative of daring and cold blooded robbery, which, though in all probability it was an entirely imaginary story, framed for the purpose of conveying a striking lesson of christian benevolence, derived great interest from the scene of it being laid in a road near the city, which, from the dreadful frequency of similar occurrences, was distinguished by the name of the 'bloody way.' It was a lonely road, bounded on either side by a range of barren, rugged, gloomy rocks, in the caverns of which such daring outlaws as lived on plunder might find a secure and inaccessible retreat. 'The whole of the road,' says Mr Buckingham, 'from Jerusalem to Jericho, is held to be the most dangerous in Palestine; and, indeed, in this portion of it, the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder; and, on the other hand, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. We were met here, accordingly, by a band of about twenty persons on foot, all armed with matchlocks,

and presenting the most ferocious and robber-like appearance that could be imagined. The effect of this was heightened by the shouts, which they sent forth from hill to hill, which were re-echoed through all the valleys, while the bold projecting crags of the rocks, the dark shadows in which every thing lay buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigned around, presented a picture that was quite in harmony throughout all its parts. It made us feel most forcibly the propriety of its being chosen as the scene of the delightful tale of comparison which we had so often admired before for its doctrine, independently of its local beauty. One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller, who rushes on to catch a near view at every pass and turn ; one must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horses hoofs, rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by discharges of their pieces in the vallies ; one must witness all this upon the spot before the full force and beauty of this admirable story of the good Samaritan can be perceived; here pillage, wounds, and death, would be accompanied with double terror from the frightful aspect of every thing around ; here the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman; and here, too, the comparison of the good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the feeling which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary, to admit of a man's exposing himself, by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature.'*

* Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 292.

The jeopardy into which travellers are often brought from unexpected encounters with human assailants, is not more formidable than the risks they run of being attacked by noxious reptiles,—a class of enemies, in guarding against which, the same means of defence are not available. Serpents being naturally a timid race, and the whole family impressed with an instinctive fear of man, that leads them to avoid his presence, and shrink from voluntary contact with him, the chief danger arises from *treading* on them unawares, as many of the tribe are but of small size and slender form. A scorpion, though a most formidable creature, seldom exceeding a few inches in length, and others being of a light green colour, such an accident is almost unavoidable, as they often conceal themselves among the long and luxuriant grass, or lie imbedded in the deep ruts of the pathway ; and when it does occur, exasperated by the bruise, the reptiles spring forward with violence, and revenge the offence with their envenomed fangs on the person of the hapless passenger. A horseman, though, from his elevated position, he is personally out of their reach, is nevertheless far from being free of danger ; for in their rage they bite the horse's heels, and the subtle poison thence diffusing itself through the animal's body, the hinder legs become all at once so perfectly torpid, that both horse and rider, falling back, are precipitated to the ground ; and it is to this secret and treacherous enemy that Jacob alludes, when, describing the perfidious character of Dan, he says, ' Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse heels.'* How much more annoying must these concealed reptiles be to the pedestrian, who, though, it may be, defended by shoes or buskins, is liable to be attacked on any part of his person ; and the caution necessary to avoid which, therefore, in passing through the long grass, which overspreads many a part of the road, and

* Genesis xlix. 17.

where every step must be carefully selected, occasions a great impediment to rapid progress on a journey. It was therefore a wise and necessary protection which our Lord promised the seventy disciples, when he sent them on their mission to preach the kingdom, that he would give them power to *tread on serpents and scorpions*, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing should by any means hurt them.* As their embassy required expedition, nothing was better calculated to encourage them on their long and fatiguing journey, than the certain prospect of a constant and complete security against a source of danger, than which few calamities are more common, and more to be apprehended. Instead of the slow and wary pace at which ordinary travellers are obliged, from prudential motives to proceed, anxiously looking about and before them, and halting every now and then to examine some suspicious object that may be lying in their path, the disciples, relying on the word and the power of their divine Master, would trip it freely and easily along, with the light heart and elastic step of men who, encased in invisible armour, knew themselves invulnerable by the serpents in their way.

The heats of summer are also most prejudicial to travelling; and although, for the most part, those who go abroad on distant journeys, arrange so as to take shelter and repose at noon in that season of the year, yet circumstances will often oblige people to deviate from that prudential rule, by exposing themselves to the intense rays of a vertical sun; and yet the attempt can seldom be made with impunity; for not only is it the greatest discomfort for a traveller to prosecute his journey, while at every pore of his body he is melting from the intolerable heat; but it is sometimes productive of injuries which, if not immediately fatal, are distressingly felt through the remainder of life.

* Luke x. 19.

Those whose wanderings have been confined to this country, cannot, perhaps, even in imagination, picture, during the summer months, the fiery heats of eastern regions. In such a situation, how often does the traveller, fainting under the relentless beams of the sun, sigh for some friendly tree or projecting rock, beneath which he may find a temporary shelter and relief; and then it is that the expression of the prophet, 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land,' is not only admired for the beauty of the metaphor, but is fully appreciated as the source of an exquisite luxury of feeling known only to those who have been long toiling over burning deserts, their heart sick of the sultry atmosphere, their eye wearied with the constant glare, their feet sinking at every step in the yielding surface, of the barren sand. 'Well do I remember,' says Mr Campbell, 'a day, when, in a country covered with burning sand, scorched with the powerful rays of an almost vertical sun, the thermometer in the shade standing at 100°, I was long looking hither and thither for something that would afford protection from the almost unsupportable heat, and where the least motion of air felt like flame coming against the face. At length I espied a huge loose rock leaning against the front of a small cliff which faced the sun. At once I fled for refuge underneath its inviting shade. The coolness emitted from this rocky canopy I found exquisitely exhilarating. The wild beasts of the desert were all fled to their dens, and the feathered songsters were all roosting among the thickest foliage they could find of the evergreen-trees. The whole creation around seemed to groan, as if their vigour had been entirely exhausted.' In such circumstances the shadow of a great rock produces sensations of the greatest delight. Every idea of beauty or deformity which its appearance or situation might, in other circumstances, have called forth, is absorbed in that of the canopy it spreads; nay, the more rugged and overhanging its cliffs, the more grate-

ful a spectacle is it, from the deeper shadow it casts, and the more refreshing coolness it promises.

But many a weary hour the traveller may have to pass, and many a heavy sigh he may heave before he comes within reach of such a gratification; and the adoption of some simple expedient, to afford the protection which the barren face of nature denies, is an idea, it might be supposed, so ready to suggest itself, that every one would ensure his own comfort by carrying it along with him in the hot season. Such, however, is the inveteracy of oriental feelings and habits, that an umbrella, although for ages familiar to the natives of the East, has always continued to be regarded as a badge of dignity, and exclusively reserved for the use of the great. From the figures sculptured on the ruins of Persepolis, it appears that the ancient chiefs of Persia, whether sitting or walking, had this canopy borne over their heads; and Niebuhr informs us, that an Arabian prince, whom he saw marching in a grand and pompous procession, had, together with the members of his royal household, the exclusive distinction of a servant marching at *his right side*, and holding over him a spacious *shade*. To this ancient as well as honourable means of protection from the heat, the Psalmist doubtless refers in the 121st Psalm. The common people, to whom custom or poverty has denied that defence, cover their heads with crape, and often wrap them as if exposed to the rigour of a severe winter, being always secured with a turban, over which in their journeys they place a shawl many times folded.*

These precautions are resorted to from their experience of the dangers, and most afflicting consequences that often result from an imprudent exposure to the sun in the heat of summer. The inhabitants of a cold or temperate region can scarcely picture in imagination the effects of the extreme heat. Not only does it induce excessive langour and depression of the spirits,—

* Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 310.

it is so absolutely intoxicating, that to sit under its unmitigated influence for a few minutes, is followed by an irresistible drowsiness, the senses are completely overcome, and the sleeper rolls about like a person in a fever from inebriation; and, on awaking, so far is he from being refreshed, that he is conscious of a painful sensation all over the body. And yet this is trifling in comparison of the terrible effects of what is called *coup de soleil*, or stroke of the sun,* which, in the first place, strikes the individual senseless, then brings on vertigo, accompanied with foamings at the mouth and protrusion of the tongue, producing a ghastly distortion of the whole features. Where these violent symptoms appear, it seldom happens that sensation ever returns.

The malignant influence of the moon is even more to be deprecated than the stroke of the sun; and those raptures with which poets have described the beauty and enjoyments of a serene and tranquil night when the moon is walking in brightness through the cloudless sky, would, in the East, be not only regarded as idle dreams, but rejected as a false and deceitful description of nature. There, the queen of night is not entitled to the epithet of the chaste and silver moon; for she shines with a strong glare, and inspires feelings every way so disagreeable, that the natives in that quarter of the world protect themselves against her evil rays with more anxious care, than they guard against those of the lord of day, — moonlight producing a strange effect on the nervous system, and, what is remarkable, being especially injurious to the eyes. A

* 'Upwards of an hundred people have died this season through being sun-smitten.'—*Periodical Accounts of the Bapt. Missions.* 'His Majesty's ship, the Frigate Liverpool, was, in summer 1821, proceeding from Muscat to Bushire. The weather gradually increased to warmth, double awnings were spread, the decks kept constantly wetted, and every precaution used to prevent the exposure of her men; and yet, in one day, from *coup de soleil*, she lost three lieutenants and thirty men. The deck is described at one time to have resembled a slaughter-house,— so numerous were the bleeding patients.'—*Welsted's City of the Caliphs*, vol. i. p. 95.

person who sleeps with his face exposed, is certain, ere long, to impair and destroy his sight; and hence travellers are always warned to cover their eyes, when they are obliged to pass the night in the open air.* In that beautiful psalm, where David is describing the secure protection which the Lord extends to his people from every spiritual danger and assault, he drew his images, like every true poet, from nature as she appeared in the region where his imagination was nursed into exercise; and, accordingly, in portraying the perils to which believers are exposed in their journey through the wilderness of this world, his description is founded on a figurative allusion to those dangers which travellers in his country had most cause to dread, arising from the malignant influence of the great heavenly bodies to which they were constantly exposed. On one memorable occasion, indeed, the Lord afforded a literal shelter to his people from those dangers incident to oriental climates. The Israelites, during their long and dreary march through the wilderness, were miraculously protected by the pillar of cloud and of fire, from the scorching rays of the meridian sun, as well as from the chilling and unwholesome influences of the night, over which the moon presides :—And thus 'the Lord was their keeper; the Lord was their shade

* Carne's Letters from the East. 'The effect of lunar rays in producing the speedy decomposition of fish and animal substances, has never, so far as I know, been attempted to be explained. The fact, all who have been in these regions, can bear testimony to.'—*Welsted's City of the Caliphs*, vol. i. p. 96. 'Meat hung up and exposed to moon-light, will not take salt, but taints, and spoils speedily, while the same kind of meat kept away from the moon-light, has taken salt, and keeps good for some time.'—*Letter from India—Christian Observer*, 1808. 'My kind host at Aleppo allowed me to occupy a flat upon his house-top during my stay, in preference to being confined in a room; but the influence of the moon upon my head was so powerful, that, whenever its beams reached me, I was compelled to get up and move my mattress into the shade. The captain of our boat had eyes of so light a blue as to be unnatural in appearance. He said it was occasioned by having slept under the moon's beams.'—*Monro's Summer Ramble in Syria*, vol. ii. p. 228.

upon their right hand ; the sun did not smite them by day, nor the moon by night.' *

But the greatest of all the hardships which travellers in the East encounter, arises from hunger and thirst. The former, however, is more easily borne ; and, indeed, comparatively little appetite for food is felt. The travelling stock of provisions, if laid in according to the directions of an experienced guide, will, in most cases, be sufficient to supply the ordinary demands of nature, during the regular stages ; and generally, when that store becomes unexpectedly exhausted, the traveller can have his wants supplied, either at the khans, or under the hospitable roof of some of the country inhabitants, who never hear the appeal of a way-faring man in vain. Even in passing through the desert, but few have been known to die of hunger; for, barren and desolate as its sandy plains are, some spots are always to be found, here and there, yielding roots or wild berries, which, in extreme cases, might contribute to the support of life ; and besides, near these oases, Providence has graciously ordained that some

* Psalm cxxi. 4-6. The arrow that fleeth by day has been explained by the author in another part of this volume, as the pestilence; but other writers have thought, with some show of reason, that it refers to the sirocco,—the description of which, however, we must defer to a succeeding volume. 'The terror by night' is explained as an allusion to the swarms of vermin with which Judea was anciently, and still is, infested, particularly a kind of flea, the violence of whose sting is said to be extraordinary. 'We mutually expressed our hopes of passing, at least, one night free from the attacks of vermin, but to our dismay, the sheich being informed of our conversation, burst into laughter, and said, that according to a saying current in Galilee, the king of the fleas holds his court in Tiberias. Some of the party provided with hammocks, slung them from the walls, so as to be suspended above the floor, but even these did not escape persecution, and the rest of us who lay on bare planks continued, as usual, tormented and restless during the night.'—*Dr Clarke.* 'The journey beyond Jordan and the Dead Sea occupied six weeks, during which a great deal was suffered from the vermin that swarm both in tents and houses, particularly a very large sort of mosquito which attacked us from the very instant the sun was down, and tormented us to a degree that I never experienced in my life.'—*Giovanni Finati.*

wild fowl, above all, the wild bee will always be found extracting from the flowers of the desert the grateful sweets with which they store their cells. These cells, in the absence of trees, are built on some neighbouring rock, to which they adhere like plaster, and, from constant exposure to the atmosphere, acquire a colour that makes them appear as forming a part of the rock itself; so that, as the Israelites, in addition to the bread from heaven, with which they were miraculously supplied, were guided *to suck honey out of the rock*, the language of the sacred historian is seen to be not less beautiful than appropriate and true to nature.

Thirst, however, is the severest and most frequent evil which travellers have to dread. In the state of great heat, and often of copious perspiration, in which the body is kept, while toiling over wild and rugged roads, in a midsummer's day, encreased doubtless by the various preparations of meal of which the food principally consists, the moisture becomes so exhausted, that the parched palate cries out for frequent applications to the water stores; and one can easily enter into the feelings of the traveller, who assures us, that often when wandering under the melting power of an oriental sun, a draught of pure water was prized infinitely more 'than pipes of the best Burgundy or the finest old Hock in the world.' Indeed, it requires no great effort of imagination to judge of the exhilarating effects which a few mouthfuls of this simple beverage, drawn pure from the flowing stream, must produce both on the body and the mind. When a traveller has been long plodding his way along a rough and heavy journey, his person worn out with heat and fatigue, and his feet wounded with accumulations of sand and small stones, the exhaustion of his body, and the depression of his spirits, show themselves in unequivocal signs, in the drooping of the head, in the sealed lips, and in the limping walk. But how great a change! The moment he comes to a

murmuring rivulet, and stoops down to take a long and deep draught of the precious fluid, his spirits revive, his energy is recruited, he resumes his journey with a step light and nimble as the roe, with a more erect gait, and a mind more disposed and capable of enjoying the pleasures of conversation; and ever and anon, as another and another stream bubbles across his path, the refreshment of a cold libation inspires him with new life and resolution to prosecute his journey rejoicingly.

In the Bible, which, as proceeding from the all-wise Creator, must be true to nature even in its minutest descriptions, all these circumstances are graphically noticed:—'He shall drink of the brook in the way: therefore he shall lift up the head.'* 'Strengthen the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees; the lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.'† 'They shall go on from strength to strength.'‡ 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation.'§ All these passages are descriptive of the happy renovation which water produces on the bodily and mental frame of the fainting traveller; and they are applied to the spiritual blessings of the gospel, the reviving effects of which, however, on the soul of man, are but feebly and inadequately shadowed forth by the comparison.

If in crossing a rugged and trackless country, which, like most of the arid regions of the East, is but thinly intersected with water, the occasional sight of a brook is one of the most delightful prospects the eye of a traveller can enjoy; how indescribably delightful and refreshing to travel by a smooth, level, and well-preserved road, to which a flowing stream runs parallel. In such a rare and happy combination of circumstances,—there being but a step between him and the most grateful refresh-

* Psalm cx. 7.
† Isaiah xxxv. 36.
‡ Psalm lxxxiv. 7.
§ Isaiah xii. 3.

ment, and the presence of the water ensuring abundance of grass for his beasts,—every feeling of anxiety will disappear from his mind, and, keeping himself in perfect ease, he will have it in his power to regulate his steps at pleasure. To people, whose painful experience taught them how seldom those two advantages for expeditious and comfortable travelling were united, the value and importance of this promise would at once appear :—'I will cause them to walk by the rivers of water, in a straight way, wherein they shall not stumble.'* It was a promise to the Israelites, that they would be delivered from their captivity in distant lands, and brought back, on their long journey, under the protection of God, who, being their infallible guide, would lead them as in a straight way wherein they could not stumble ; and who, being always with them as a refreshing stream in their path, would, by the protection of his providence, and the blessings of his grace, let them want no good thing.

Not unfrequently, however, the exhilarating prospect of a brook, running in the same direction with the traveller, and exciting his ardent expectations that it will continue, is followed by sudden and bitter disappointment. From the prevalence of sand in some places, and the ravines in others, occasioned by the parched nature of the soil, rivulets which, for hours, perhaps, were pursuing a particular course, suddenly disappear, and no trace of them can ever be discovered. Nowhere more than in Arabia do such phenomena occur ; and Job, who was a native of that country, drew from nature, when he said:—'My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a brook ; and as the streams of brooks, they pass away. What time they wax warm, they vanish ; when it is hot, they are consumed out of their place.'† But a far more cruel disappointment is felt, when, after a toilsome walk in the direction of a stream or fountain, which, when last seen, was copious,

* Jer. xxxi. 9. † Job vi. 15-17.

and promised to be perennial, the traveller finds it has totally failed, leaving a dry and empty channel. Mr Campbell has described his feelings in meeting with such a disappointment :—'Crossing a desert on the western side of Africa, nearly a hundred miles broad, in which there was no water, after leaving the last spring of water on the margin of the desert, we travelled, chiefly over deep sand, for fifteen hours. To rest the oxen, though there was neither grass nor water, we halted five hours; after which we went forward for eighteen hours more without halt, during which time the groans of the cattle, from thirst and fatigue, were most distressing to hear. About the commencement of the nineteenth hour, the cry of water! water! water! was raised by the people, on perceiving that the cattle gave signs of smelling. After some consideration, by smelling in every direction, they hastened towards a corner, at the bottom of a low hill, where indeed there was a considerable pool, but the waters had failed or sunk into the ground, evidently not more than one or two days before, as the ground was still damp over the whole bottom.'*

In the interesting anecdote from Campbell, mention is made of the eagerness with which the ruder Africans sought to catch the scent of water. Indeed, it is astonishing what acuteness the natives have in the sense of smell, as well as what a variety of ocular signs experience has taught them by which to discover the locality of hidden springs, even at a considerable distance; while a stranger, however carefully he looks around, and earnestly he longs for them, can perceive no visible traces of their existence. In these circumstances, should an experienced native volunteer to act as guide, and to conduct the fainting travellers whose hopes

* It is to this deceitful promise that Jeremiah alludes in that passage, where, from a peevish impatience under the dispensations of God's Providence, which had deprived him of the comforts of his word, he exclaims, 'Wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as *waters that fail*?' xv. 19.

of relief were fast diminishing, to a spring so near, that, with little further effort even his enfeebled limbs could reach it, and so copious that its limpid waters constantly overflowed its narrow basin ; would he not, in an ecstacy of delight at this discovery, forget all his want and his fears? This very service Christ has promised to render to his people :—'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more ; for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them.'* 'The Lamb that is in the midst of them shall feed them, and lead them to living fountains of water, and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.'†

What incredible folly would it be, if, after being guided to the knowledge, and put in posession, of a treasure so inestimable in eastern climes, as that of a running and inexhaustible fountain, they should, from a restless love of variety, or in a fit of caprice, leave the prospect of water ever flowing and ever fresh, for the stale, insipid, stagnant contents of an artificial pond! Yet with such folly are mankind chargeable, in wandering from the living God, and giving up their hearts to heathen and worldly vanities :—'My people have committed two great evils ; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters ; and hewed to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.'‡

Fountains of living waters, however, being a blessing to which many places in those arid regions are strangers, wells and tanks are provided as substitutes ; the one deep, and supplied by subterranean springs ; the other, mere receptacles of rain. In expectation of the former, it is customary for travellers to furnish themselves with implements for drawing water, in case, as it often happens, that no such conveniences are attached to the well itself. These consist of a leathern bucket, and a long rope generally of leather also, with which, to meet contingencies,

* Isa. xlix. 10. † Rev. vii. 17. ‡ Jer ii. 13.

every merchant and traveller in the caravans provides himself; although several of the wells, particularly in large cities, are now beautifully ornamented edifices, and add the additional accommodation of a flight of steps. But these modern refinements are but partially introduced; in most of the wells of Palestine they are unknown, and hence we read of one traveller going to Jerusalem who says, that he was compelled to take leathern buckets to draw water with; of another who, having lost his rope, used his long camel whip as a substitute; and of a third, who, in similar circumstances, made use of his long military belt. It was to these ordinary accoutrements of a traveller, that the woman of Samaria alluded, when she said—'Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep.'* Perceiving that the stranger was on a journey, and, as was customary, halting at the well at noon for refreshment and repose, she supposed that he would have carried with him the means of procuring a supply of the cooling liquid; and when she discovered that he was not provided with the customary implement, she, in her ignorance of the spiritual blessings to which He designed to call her attention, naturally inquired with astonishment, Whence he could obtain that living water?†

* John iv. 11.

† 'Upon reaching the gate of Sychar, my first inquiry was for the traditionary site of Jacob's well; but it was not until several residents had been separately questioned that I heard any tidings of it, when it was said to be filled up; but my informant, not knowing the spot, went in search of an aged man who could lead me to the place. Instead of a well filled up, the latter brought us to one in use, an hundred yards within the present town, of small dimensions, and edged at the top of the parapet wall with a thick piece of white marble, much scored with the rope. Although the well now shewn me could not be the same at which our Lord held the conversation with the woman, nevertheless it furnished an important but interesting comment upon the words of Scripture, "It *was deep*," a thing very unusual in Palestine, where the water is generally preserved in superficial cisterns, from which it issues in a fountain, and a few stairs are placed for descending into it. I saw no other instance of a well like that of Naplous throughout the

The wells, in consequence of their depth, the subterranean sources from which they are fed, and the solid stone arch by which most of them are covered, seldom disappoint the hopes of the traveller. But it is otherwise with the cisterns, which, being nothing more than reservoirs of rain, are often found, after all the labour he has taken to reach them, to his extreme mortification quite dry from evaporation, foul with a bed of dirty mud at the bottom, choked up with a heap of stones, or so entirely destroyed as to be 'broken cisterns that can hold no water.' To an oriental mind, the circumstance is one of painfully frequent experience; and few images could have been selected with better effect, to describe the unsound and uninteresting doctrines of the false teachers who had crept into the early church, than that employed by Jude, when, in allusion to the feelings of a traveller as he approaches the well-known site of some ancient cistern, big with anticipations of enjoyment not to be realized, he styles them 'wells without water.'*

country; a circumstance arising from the peculiar formation of the soil of Syria, generally containing water near the surface, which does not appear to have been the case at Sychar: and this feature of nature being unchangeable, bears a lively testimony to the veracity and simplicity of scripture in recording the reply of the woman to our Lord, "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the *well is deep*." The diameter of the shaft is small, and the depth to the water sixty feet, but the past winter having been wet to a degree almost unprecedented in Syria, it is likely that in ordinary seasons, and late in the year, the water may be much lower.'—*Vere Monro*, vol. i. p. 271.

* 'The well called Joseph's well, about two miles from the Lake of Tiberias, is supposed to be the place in which he was concealed by his brethren at the instigation of Reuben. According to the Vulgate, the expression is, "let us put him into the well," (Gen. xxxviii.) but the Septuagint and Chaldee read, "one of the cisterns," or as it is translated, "some pit," upon which Rabbi Solomon comments, "that it was one of those 'broken cisterns that can hold no water;' and though full of serpents and scorpions, Joseph was yet protected by God, and brought out alive."'—*Vere Monro*, vol. ii. p. 10. It may not be uninteresting to remark, that in consequence of the great aqueduct of Jerusalem having failed, that city, since 1830, has been supplied with water from rain cisterns, and that as, during

Not unfrequently, however, both the wells and springs from which refreshment is fondly expected, are found to contain nothing but a green and putrid liquid, or, as very often happens in passing through a desert country, their contents are so brackish from the saline qualities with which the soil is deeply impregnated, as to be utterly unfit for use. Its disagreeable colour and muddiness, however, are no obstacles in the way of the natives drinking it, as, after stirring the surface to disperse the accumulation of scum, they either spread a corner of their garment on the vessel, so as to make it pass through a filter, or they boil it before using, in which state its forbidding appearance is entirely forgotten. Where the water is brackish, however, the evil is not so easily got over, although long experience has taught the natives the knowledge of several methods of correcting the impurity. Two instances of bitter waters being made sweet and palatable, are recorded in scripture. One is, when, at the pressing entreaties of the inhabitants of Jericho, who for the accommodation of the city had opened a well, which, though affording a copious supply, contained unfortunately too strong an infusion of salt to be available, Elisha poured a quantity of salt into the fountain, after which, it is said, the waters were healed. This was manifestly a miraculous change of their qualities, as no substance in nature could have been more unsuitable for the purpose than that which the prophet employed.* The other instance occurs in the history of the Israelites, in their passage from Egypt to the wilderness. Marah, where they pitched their encampment, probably allured by the moist and verdant appearance of the neighbourhood, was situated on a bed of natural salt, in consequence of which, the water obtained from the wells called

the summer, these run dry, the inhabitants are compelled to send to the distant pool of Siloam, and an hundred ass loads are brought into the town daily.'—Vol. i. p. 230.

* 2 Kings ii. 19.

forth throughout the camp a loud and universal murmur of dissatisfaction. Moses, by the direction of God, having cast in some shoots of a bush which grew close to the well's brink, the quality of the water underwent a total change, yielding a grateful refreshment both for man and beast; and thus, at the commencement of a mode of life, of which previously they had no experience, they were, by the timely assistance of their Divine Guide, furnished with the means of preventing any similar calamity during the rest of their sojourn in the wilderness. Whatever was the bush which he was directed to make use of on this occasion, it is well known that the experienced natives of the desert still employ the leaves and branches of certain trees, for sweetening the brackish water, particularly a shrub, in form and flower not unlike our hawthorn.*

The prevention of those terrible calamities, which too certainly follow the want of water in those sultry climes, is an act of charity, the value and importance of which it is scarcely possible to overrate; and accordingly, in most oriental countries, there have in all ages been found wealthy and influential persons, who, either from motives of ambition, or the dictates of genuine humanity, have devoted a portion of their fortune to the erection and maintenance of wells or cisterns, to which are attached cups of water, for the convenience of travellers, by the sides of the roads, and where the arid nature of the ground renders the sinking of wells impracticable. They engage, at their own expense, water-carriers, whose office it is, from day to

* Exod. xv. 23. Buckhardt suggests that the Israelites may have rendered the waters of Marah palatable by mingling with it the juice of the berries of the Ghurkud, or Elvah. The process would be a very simple one, and doubtless effectual; and the presence of this shrub around all brackish fountains, would cause the remedy to be always at hand. It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark, that the Hebrew original, like the English version, has here only the general word for 'tree,' and, therefore, all speculations as to the name of any particular plant can only rest on air. Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 98. Also Lord Lindsay's Letters, vol. i. p. 263.

day, with a goat-skin full of the refreshing fluid, carefully boiled for fear of injurious effects, to take their station at convenient parts of the road, and offer a gratuitous cup to whoever wishes to drink. The persons occupied in this benevolent service, walk up and down within a limited space, chanting a short cry of invitation to the thirsty to partake of the offered refreshment, and which is generally in words like these:—'Ho! every one that thirsteth, come unto the waters, even he that hath no money.'

But in the desert no such kindly accommodations are met with; and the horrible melancholy and despair to which travellers are exposed, in the prospect of their own supplies failing, are so graphically described by one who experienced the painful realities, that we take the liberty of quoting his words. 'Speaking in general of a desert, there are few springs of water: some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight day's journey from one another, and not all of sweet water; on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter; so that, if the thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he suffers more than before. But when the dreadful calamity happens, that the next well which is so anxiously sought for, is found dry, the misery of such a situation cannot well be described: the camels, which afford the only means of escape, are so thirsty that they cannot proceed to another well; and if the travellers kill them, to extract the little liquid which remains in their stomachs, they themselves cannot advance any further, The situation is dreadful; many perish the victims of horrible thirst. It is then that the value of a cup of water is felt. If the master has none, his servant will not part with a drop of his; for very few are the instances where a man will voluntarily lose his life to save that of another, particularly in a caravan in the desert, where all are strangers to each other. To be thirsty in a desert without water, exposed to the burning sun without shelter, and no hopes

of finding either, is the most terrible situation that a man can be placed in, and, I believe, one of the greatest sufferings that a human being can endure : the eyes grow inflamed ; the lips and tongue swell ; a hollow sound is heard in the ears, which brings on total deafness ; and the brains appear to grow thick and inflamed : all these feelings arise from the want of a little water. In the midst of all this misery, the deceitful mirages appear before the traveller at no great distance ; something like a lake or river of clear fresh water. If a traveller is not undeceived, he hastens his pace to reach it sooner ; the more he advances towards it, the more it goes from him, till at last it vanishes entirely ; and the deluded passenger often asks where is the water he saw at no great distance? he can scarcely believe that he was so deceived ; he protests that he saw the waves running before the wind, and the reflection of the high rocks in the water. If any one falls sick on the road,—there is no alternative,—he must endure the fatigue of travelling on a camel, which is troublesome even to healthy people ; or he must be left behind on the sand without any assistance, and remain so till he dies. No one remains with him ; all pity his fate, but no one will be his companion. Why not stop the whole caravan till he is better, or do what they can for the best till he dies? No, this delay cannot be : it would put all in danger of perishing of thirst, if they do not reach the well within a given time ; besides, they all are different parties, generally of merchants or travellers, who will not even wait a few hours to save the life of an individual, whether they know him or not.'*

In travelling through the desert, which is always performed in large bodies or caravans, it is a matter of prime importance to secure the services of a trusty guide. The individual to whom that responsible office is assigned, requires to be of a certain rank, as well as

* Belzoni's Travels, p. 341.

to possess a variety of the most important qualifications. He must be sheich or chief of some Arab tribe, who, with the assistance of his own people, may be able to defend his charge from the fierce marauders, who prowl about in quest of plunder; and, by his amicable relations and influence with neighbouring tribes, may secure a free passage through their territories. Moreover, as the life and property of the whole party are, in a manner, placed in his hands, it is essential that he should unite to those advantages of station, great personal experience, and accurate knowledge of the situation of the wells, by which the route is invariably directed to the best places for encamping, and obtaining the accommodation of shade for the men, and grass for the cattle,—the parts most dangerous from the moving sands,—the prognostics of the weather,—the approach and method of escaping the fatal effects of the hot winds,—and, in short, of every thing bearing upon the safety and progress of the caravan. It was these important services that Moses, on reaching the borders of the great Arabian desert, solicited his father-in-law, a pastoral chief of great substance and power in that region, to perform to the Israelites; and, while it must be obvious, on a moment's reflection, that the peculiar circumstances of that people did not relieve Moses from the necessity of employing the usual assistance of a guide, his anxiety to secure the company of Jethro in that capacity, displayed the admirable judgment and prudence of the Hebrew leader: for, although the pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, regulated by divine authority their times of march and halting, and afforded them the invaluable benefit of shade and direction, it was left to themselves to negotiate with the native sheichs for a a passage through their dominions,—as well as to provide wood for fuel, provender for the cattle, and water for all: and who so well fitted to be their guide in all arrangements of this nature, as a man whose family connexion with

Moses, whose extensive influence, and whose perfect knowledge of the secrets of the desert, afforded a pledge of fidelity and usefulness?

The arrangement of caravans, whether mercantile* or religious, including frequently several thousand persons, has, from time immemorial, been made after the same order. Five superior officers, exclusive of the chief, are appointed to superintend the whole concern; whose names, the master of the march, the halt, the servants and cattle, and the luggage, sufficiently point out the nature of their respective duties. Each person, notwithstanding, is at liberty to choose his place in the company or division to which he wishes to attach himself; in taking which, of course, he is naturally influenced by friendship and acquaintance; but the moment that his choice is announced, the strict regulations of the caravan require that he keep within the range of his company during the whole of his journey. The first day of their setting out there is always a great deal of hurry† and confusion; and the stage is as invariably a short one.‡ The second day some regularity is insisted on; and every one is required, under severe penalties, to assume the place allotted to him. They commonly travel four abreast; and, besides the five general officers, there is a subordinate officer appointed to preside over each company, to take care that order is

* Ancient commerce was entirely carried on by travelling caravans. The most ancient one of which we read is connected with the early history of Joseph, and it consisted of three companies (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28, 36), in which latter it is the Medanites who are referred to, neighbours of the Midianites, but a distinct people. Notices of travelling merchants' caravans occur in Isaiah xlv. 14, and Ezekiel xxxvii. 9; and the routes continue the same as in the days of Joseph.

† The Israelites also set out in haste, Exodus xii. 11.

‡ It is related that Mary had gone 'one day's journey' when she discovered our Lord to be absent, while Micmash, the modern El Vyra, is scarcely three hours from Jerusalem; but this tallies exactly with the present practice of the East, where the first day's journey seldom exceeds two or three hours.—*Vere Monro*, vol. i. p. 265.

kept, and that the disorderly or the sick should receive due measure of attention. Each company is distinguished by an appropriate standard, which, at night, consists of long poles, surmounted by small eagles or beacons, formed of iron hoops, which are filled with combustible materials for light, to the number of ten or twelve to each company, and every one of a different figure and shape from another; so that every one knows, by looking at the standard by night or by day, whether he is in his right place. These standards are always carried in front of the company; and, at each encampment, they are fixed upright in the ground in such a manner, and at such distances, as to mark the ground each company is to occupy;—within the limits of which, every person is at liberty to occupy himself as he chooses,—to unload his camels, to give them provender, kindle his fire, prepare his own victuals, and enjoy his pipe or conversation, and repose at his pleasure.

The march of the Israelites from Egypt was in like manner after the immemorial arrangement of caravans, consigned to the management of five presiding officers, the chief burden of the movement devolving on Moses, who was called by God himself to be at the head of that difficult and laborious enterprise. Each tribe had its own distinguishing standard, and their time of marching and of halting was regulated by the rules which, it has already been stated, all parties of travellers have for centuries observed in summer. Accordingly it was in the evening, probably about seven or eight o'clock, which is the usual time of starting in the hot season, when they broke up their encampment at Pihahiroth, and entered, by the favour of their Almighty protector and guide, on their ever-memorable passage over the dry bed of the Red Sea.*

This detailed account of the time, manner, and dangers of travelling in the East, we shall close with a

* Exodus xiv. 22.

few observations on a class of travellers who undertake their journeys by the command and in the service of others. The couriers of the ancient kings of Persia, when despatched on state business, that required particular expedition, rode on mules, or dromedaries, generally the latter, which were recommended by their extraordinary fleetness, some of them being capable of running at the rate of a hundred miles a day. And, accordingly, the messengers who were sent to counteract, for it could not be revoked, the fatal edict which Haman had surreptitiously obtained against the Jews, as their mission was on matters of life and death, were furnished with young dromedaries, their youth and high spirit pre-eminently qualifying them for a journey that called for more than ordinary expedition.

The Persian monarchs did anciently, as they do still, employ a class of officers, whom they despatch to all parts of their kingdom, as occasion or the public business may require, with full powers to press horses, ships, and even men to aid them in the king's service. When an officer of this description, called a *chapper*, sets out, says Hanway, 'the master of the horse furnishes him with a single beast, and when that is weary, he dismounts the first man he meets, and seizes his horse for his own use. No pardon is extended to the traveller who should refuse to let a chapper have his horse, nor for any other who should hesitate to ride, run, or walk, to whatever distance the king's commissioner may order.' The same custom prevails in Egypt, under the government of Mehemet Ali. When Mr Monro was at Sour, the ancient Tyre, he heard that the pacha had directed plantations to be made in the neighbourhood of Acre, and every village was compelled to contribute olive and cherry trees, sixty of each sort, every day for ten days. The order came to the sheich, while the traveller was sitting in his house, for the villagers to carry the trees to Acre on the

morrow; and the sheich complained of it as peculiarly hard upon the people, as all their horses and mules having been taken, they were compelled to carry the burdens upon their shoulders six hours (that being the distance to Acre), across the mountains. The Roman governors issued the same peremptory orders; and the Jews, who were secretly very averse to the yoke of their imperial masters, grudged nothing so much as the stern laws which compelled them to lend their personal service, or furnish horses to assist the messengers of the tetrarchs or the proconsuls, in whatever business their aid might be required. In inculcating upon his countrymen the christian duty of submission unto the powers that were, whatever their exactions might be, if sanctioned by lawful authority, our Lord specified the case of those inferior messengers, on account, probably, of their displaying so much petty insolence and tyranny in requiring compliance with their demands.*

In general, the people of the East are fond of having company in all their journeys and travels. Whether they be masters or servants; whether their errand be trivial or important, they invite or encourage their friends or neighbours to join them. Nor is this propensity indulged altogether from the pure love of company, or from the prudential motive of securing the presence of witnesses to the business they have to transact, but from a desire of enjoying the advantage of the society and counsels of their friends to support their argument, to help them in meeting unexpected difficulties, and obviating objections, seconding their requests, and in giving them all the help in their power to accomplish the object of their journey. The same propensity appears anciently to have influenced the people of Judea. Cornelius, although a man of his high character and station might have expected that a single messenger, with a verbal or written intimation

* Matthew v. 41.

of his wishes, would have ensured a respectful attention, despatched three persons to the lodgings of Peter, probably from his great anxiety to have several present, that by their joint efforts they might prevail on the apostle to give him the interview, should he start any objections; and, in like manner, Peter, although the message concerned himself alone, associated six of the brethren along with him.

CHAPTER XV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE FROM THE ARTS AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE ORIENTALS.

In the earlier times of the Hebrews, the state of the arts, as might be supposed from the simplicity of their manners, their frequent wars, and their rare intercourse with foreigners, was exceedingly low and imperfect, — being confined chiefly to a knowledge of those which were demanded for the humblest and most necessary purposes of life.

This low state of the arts among the Hebrews is easily accounted for, when it is considered that the law and constitution of their country required the great body of the people to dedicate themselves to the pursuits of agriculture. Hence, the general character of society among that peculiar people, presented, in a civil and economical point of view, a totally different spectacle from that of the cities or towns of Britain, in which large classes of the people are trained up to prosecute through life some one of the many departments of the mechanical arts, and form a most important and influential portion of the community. Judea, on the contrary, was occupied by a nation of husbandmen, even the very town's people consisting for the most part of farmers, who repaired in the morning to their rustic toils, and bent their steps again, on the decline of the day, to the gates of the city.* Moreover, farming was so very simple an affair, the implements of

* Judges xix. 15, 16.

husbandry were so few, and these so very rude, that almost every man of the most ordinary share of activity and skill could fabricate or repair them with his own hands, and thus, neither the state of society, nor the light and productive character of the soil affording much scope for experiment, while the occupation in which the people were chiefly employed remained for a long time in a stationary condition, there was little or no encouragement for any to betake themselves to the practice of mechanical trades. Nor was the door less completely shut against all attempts in any other branch of the useful arts. Almost all the articles necessary for personal consumpt or wearing apparel, which are now produced from tradesmen, whose time and talents are exclusively devoted to the business, were originally furnished in every one's own family. No one ever dreamt of employing a baker, a weaver, a tailor, or a shoemaker. The grinding of the corn and the preparation of the bread for the daily use of the household, was the first employment of the female servants in the morning. The mistress of the house and her maidens spun and wove the flax or wool into stuffs for family wear; the same active and industrious hands shaped them into robes according to the approved fashions of the country, while the light and slippered sandals that protected the feet, it was not difficult for any one to form for himself out of the raw and untanned hide of a sheep or a goat. Thus, the commodities in most constant requisition being always of home manufacture, every one was independent of the skill and experience of his neighbour; the few and simple wants being easily and chiefly furnished in his own house, there was no call for seeking to obtain them money from others; and hence the most powerful incentive to the choice or prosecution of any branch, whether of trade or commerce, having no existence, the state of the arts could not be otherwise than low, rude, and imperfect. Matters connected with

building must have been manifestly the first occasion of fostering a separate class of workmen; and hence, the building of the temple especially, which led Solomon to invite numbers of foreign mechanics into his dominions, gave an impulse to trade and commerce in ancient Palestine, which the inhabitants ever afterwards retained in a greater or less degree.

It was not till after the first captivity, that this people, in any considerable extent, devoted themselves to the cultivation of different branches of trade, although subsequently to that period in their national history, they seem to have become so impressed with the utility of these, either from their bitter experience of the uncertainty of worldly prosperity, or from a desire to foster habits of independence, that all their young men, even of the highest and wealthiest families, were taught the practice of some mechanical employment along with the elements of ordinary education. An example of this Jewish custom is afforded by the history of Paul, who, though a scion of a good family, and designed by his liberal education for some high office in the church or state, was bred up to the occupation of a tent maker.

Many notices of particular branches of trade and manufacture have been already incidentally given in the course of the work. But a few additional remarks, for the insertion of which a proper opportunity did not present itself in an earlier part of the volumes, will not, it is hoped, be found uninteresting nor unimportant.

Among the arts of common life, the manufacture of earthenware, which, from the very frequent allusions made to it in Scripture, seems to have been in very extensive use, claims the first notice. Jeremiah, in a striking passage of his writings, in which he represents God's absolute property in his people under the type of a potter, who fashions the clay in whatever form he may choose, has given a description of the ancient process of making vessels of stoneware. 'The

word which came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying, arise, and go down to the potter's house; and there I will cause thee to hear my words. Then I went down to the potter's house; and, behold, he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it. Then the word of the Lord came to me, saying, O house of Israel, cannot I do with you as this potter? saith the Lord. Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel.'* The word in the original, which is translated wheels, properly signifies stones, and, to use the words of Blaney, the appellation will appear very proper, if we consider this machine as consisting of a pair of circular stones, placed one upon another like mill-stones, of which the lower was immoveable, but the upper one turned upon a spindle or axis, and had motion communicated to it by the feet of the potter sitting at his work. Upon the top of this upper stone, which was flat, the clay was placed, which, the potter having given the stone the due velocity, formed into shape with his hands.† This method of forming earthenware vessels is still common in eastern countries, and it seems to have descended with little or no variation from the ancient Egyptians, on whose paintings that are extant, figures of potters at work are seen in the very attitude now described.

Jars and drinking vessels were chiefly made of earth-

* Jer. xviii. 1. Two similar comparisons occur elsewhere in Scripture:—'Woe unto him,' says Isaiah, 'that striveth with his Maker! Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth. Shall the clay say to him that fashioned it, What makest thou? or thy work, He hath no hands?' 'Shall the thing,' says Paul, speaking of the sovereign right of God to reject the Jews and call the Gentiles, 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour.' Isaiah xlv. 9; Romans ix. 20, 21.

† Dr Blaney on Jeremiah.

enware, and, from the stability of oriental customs, were probably moulded in the same shapes with similar utensils still in use in the East,—a remark the more important, as we are enabled, in consequence, to form an exact idea of the form and capacity of the stone waterpots mentioned in the scripture episode of the marriage feast at Cana. 'Whilst I was sitting by the well of that village,' says a modern traveller, 'a striking fact occurred. Six females, having their faces veiled, came down to the well, each carrying on her head a pot, for the purpose of being filled with water, which evinced how much the customs of old are observed here at this day. These vessels are formed of clay, hardened by the heat of the sun, and of a globular shape, and large at the mouth; not unlike the bottles used in this country for holding vitriol, but not so large.* Many of them have handles attached to the sides; and it was a wonderful coincidence with Scripture, that these vessels appeared to contain much about the same quantity, as those which the evangelist informs us, were employed at the celebration of the marriage which was honoured by the Saviour's presence, viz. three pitchers, or about twelve gallons each.'†

The art of glazing earthenware, so indispensable to the solidity of such vessels, as well as to their preserving the liquids they contain pure and untainted, was not unknown to the Hebrews; although there is every likelihood that most of those in common use, especially among the poorer classes, remained in the natural unpolished state in which they came from the hands of the potter. In many parts of the East, vessels of this latter description form the only ones brought out for daily purposes. 'In Egypt and Western Asia,' says Mr Lane, 'the inhabitants have in common use vessels of porous clay, lightly baked, and rather thin in proportion to the size of the vessels. They are exclusive-

* Like what are called in Scotland gray-beards.

† Rae Wilson's Travels.

ly employed for the purifying and cooling of water. The water constantly oozes through the minute pores of the vessel, forming a thick dew or moisture on the outer surface, the rapid evaporation of which reduces the temperature of the vessel, and of the water it contains, much below that of the atmosphere; by which means the inhabitants are enabled to obtain, in the warmest weather, water perfectly cool for drink. The water, as it passes through, is filtered to the most perfect clearness; and for family use, there are large vessels of this sort, propped upon frames of wood, with other vessels of similar clay, but different form, placed underneath to receive the filtered water that drops from the outer surface of the other. Thus a supply of water, perfectly clear and refreshingly cool, is at once secured. Jugs of various sizes, and elegant but fragile drinking-cups of the same clay, are also employed to keep the filtering water cool, while at hand for occasional use, and while being actually used. Now the manufacture of these percolating vessels originated in Egypt, in very ancient times, and they are still made there in great perfection. If the invention ascends to the time of Moses, there can be no question that the Israelites were acquainted with the art of making them, and would doubtless use them for the purpose of purifying and refrigerating the generally bad water of the deserts through which they wandered; and as they had vessels of wood and of copper tinned for this purpose, it is not too much to suppose that their earthen vessels were almost exclusively of this description; for to this day, a wandering people do not like to encumber themselves with numerous earthen vessels, which are so liable to be broken in their removals. Assuming, then, that such were their vessels, the direction given in the Mosaic law,* to break them when defiled, is easy to be understood; because, from their remarkably porous nature, whatever spot, stain, or other

* Leviticus vi. 28.

impurity they receive, is at once absorbed into the mass, either immediately or through the agency of the water, and it becomes impossible to cleanse them entirely by any common process.'

The conjecture of this learned writer derives additional confirmation from the circumstance, that the orientals who still make most use of earthen vessels for religious purposes, invariably break them when defiled, while wooden or metallic vessels are cleansed by scouring. A traditionary practice like this, continued from the earliest times, doubtless was recommended by some necessary and universal cause. Some writers indeed suppose, that the Hebrew lawgiver issued this command for the destruction of earthen vessels, because, as they were troublesome to preserve entire during their frequent migrations, and the loss sustained by breakages would be heavily felt, he was desirous of gradually discouraging the use of these, and substituting in their place more substantial and elegant vessels of metal,—the more especially as it was important to remove every thing from daily use and observation which tended to keep alive their fond recollections of Egypt, where pottery was a principal branch of manufacture. But such reasons, plausible as they seem, are manifestly inapplicable to the modern inhabitants of the East; and it seems, therefore, much more reasonable to suppose that the command to break the vessels wherein the flesh of the sin-offering was soddened, arose from the porous nature of the material, which was liable to imbibe and retain the flavour of any strong liquid that was put into it.

From the extensive use of earthenware all over the East, the trade of a potter is a very common one, and many pieces of ground are seen in the neighbourhood of towns, in which this branch of industry is carried on. The only potter's field of which we read in sacred history was converted into a burial place; and it may be mentioned as a minute, and therefore interesting

circumstance confirmatory of the truth and authenticity of Scripture, that the appropriation of the disused ground of a pottery to the purposes of sepulture is common in the East, and, indeed, almost the only use to which such fields can be afterwards applied. 'We travelled,' says Mr Parsons, 'eleven hours this day, and the last six without once halting. The ground over which we travelled seemed strewed over with small pieces of green earthenware, which was so plenty, that many bushels could be gathered on the space of a mile. I inquired into the occasion of it; the information which we received from our sheich, and others in the caravan was, that in former ages, the greatest part of this plain was inhabited by potters; that the soil abounded then, as it does at present, with clay fit for their use; that they moved their works from place to place, as they consumed the clay, or it suited their convenience. They now make, at Bagdad, such kind of earthenware, with a green glazing on it. When the sun shines, it appears like green glass, which is very beautiful to the sight. They cannot *plough this ground as it would cut the feet both of men and oxen.*'*

The use of bellows in fanning the fire of a furnace, and aiding the work of the forge, was coeval almost with the application of metals to the service of man; and although hand-bellows seem never to have been introduced into the household,—eastern people contenting themselves with the primitive method of blowing their fires with their mouth, yet there is evidence of this wind instrument being employed by the artisans of ancient Egypt, from whom, along with many other mechanical inventions, they were borrowed by the neighbouring nations. The ancient bellows were constructed on the same principle with those used in our own workshops, although their form was considerably different. A pair was placed on each side of the fire, and the smith, instead of pressing only the upper and

* Parson's Travels in Asia, p. 113.

moveable board with his arm, as is now the custom, had a cord fastened to each, one of which he took in his right, and the other in his left hand, so that while with his right foot he pressed on the one that was filled with air, he pulled up the exhausted one with the string in his left hand, and by this alternate motion, poured an uninterrupted current of wind into the furnace. One allusion only to the bellows occurs in the scriptures. It is in the writings of Jeremiah, where that prophet says, 'The bellows are burned, the lead is consumed in the fire; the founder melteth in vain, for the wicked are not plucked away. Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them.'* The passage is highly figurative, and founded on an allusion to the ancient process of refining metals. Before the use of quicksilver was known, lead was the agent employed for that purpose, being recommended by a peculiar property it possesses of assuming, when subjected to the action of a violent fire, the appearance of clear brittle glass, of so subtle and penetrating a nature, that it runs through the other metals, dissolving them, and attracting to itself the baser and imperfect metals, while gold and silver it leaves free from alloy. The Israelites in the days of Jeremiah had become a nation of hypocritical formalists:—'They had the appearance of gold and silver; but in reality they were base metal without any mixture of precious ones. The prophets whom the Lord used as instruments to refine and purify them, were not only worn out by useless labour, but put to death for attempting it, as if the refiner's bellows were thrown into the fire, and his lead consumed to no purpose. Indeed the whole mass was proved to be refuse metal, and not silver as it had once appeared to be, and men would treat them with contempt, because God no longer regarded them as his people.'†

The only article of hardware mentioned by the sacred

* Jer. vi. 29, 30.

† Scott's Comment. *in loco.*

writers besides swords, are a knife and razor, although in all probability both expressions refer to the same instrument, so that the passage where they occur should be thus rendered :—'And thou son of man, take thee a sharp knife, even a barber's razor, and cause it to pass upon thine head, and upon thy beard.' This instrument, which is now in so much request in the East, was not so indispensable to the Hebrews, who were fond of cherishing their beards, and who seldom shaved their heads, although the hair on that part of the person was worn short. With their habits, razors, not being in daily and familiar use, the possession of one was rather a rare circumstance, and we need not be surprised, therefore, at finding Isaiah saying that the Lord would shave with a razor that 'is hired.'* In the historical fulfilment of the prophecy contained in that passage, indeed, the description was literally verified; for the Lord employed the Assyrian monarch, whom Ahaz had 'hired,' with the sacred treasures, as his instrument in inflicting the chastisements of his angry Providence on the guilty land of Israel; and so complete would be the desolation produced by that oppressive conqueror, that the land would be swept just as a razor mows down and removes every hair from the head and beard. Razors in the East do not now, and we may fairly presume they did not anciently, make any but a distant approach to the exquisite temper and polish for which similar instruments of manufacture in Britain are justly celebrated. But so carefully is the head rubbed before shaving, with the hand of the barber moistened with water, that the process, even when performed with an indifferent razor, is so easy an operation as scarcely to be felt, or if felt at all, is accompanied with an agreeable and soothing sensation; and if the ancient mode of removing the hair resembled the oriental practice of the present day, as it probably did, the fact of Samson continuing his slumbers while his

* Isaiah vii. 20.

treacherous wife was depriving him of his much-valued locks, is easily and naturally accounted for.

One great advantage oriental cities possess over those in Europe is, that the professors of different trades are all arranged in distinct bodies, and have different streets appropriate to their use. Every distinct trade has its own bazaar, in which merchandize of a different description is not to be found. Thus shoemakers and tailors, barbers and jewellers, carpenters and grocers, sellers of pipes and bricks, and dealers in embroidery, each have their allotted street, where the shop-keepers, seated in front of their warehouses, upon little raised divans of wood or earth, on which a mat is spread, spend the day in exhibiting their commodities. Some of these bazaars, which are narrow and covered, are so extensive that one may walk for a couple of miles in the large towns before reaching the end of them. The tradesmen in ancient cities seem to have been distributed in like manner in separate localities, each according to his business; and accordingly we read of a daily allowance being furnished to Jeremiah 'out of the baker's street.'*

Not content, however, with the slow and uncertain rewards of business in a regular bazaar, which a number of competitors frequent, many of the traders in the East are in the habit, at certain seasons, of perambulating the country, and carrying their commodities in person to the houses of the inhabitants. More especially does this practice prevail among the younger class, who, having but a small stock of money, very commonly commence business on a small scale, as itinerant merchants. In this character, they repair to some country town or village, where, through acquaintance or friendship with some of the resident inhabitants, they may have reason to expect an opening, and there settle for a time; till, when they find the tide of customers abating, they forthwith remove to new quar-

* Jeremiah xxxvii. 21.

ters ; which they can always do without any difficulty, as they are never fettered by leases, rents, and similar obligations. Others, again, never make any settlement in any particular place ; but, packing up, in a portable chest, such merchandize as they think likely to suit the taste or meet the wants of the people, such as spices, cloth, or jewellery, they travel over a certain district, where, from their frequent visits, they become known, and form connexions which give them a sort of prescriptive right to be considered the ' merchantmen' of the place. By frequently travelling over this self-prescribed circuit, they learn to calculate the exact time necessary to go from place to place, as well as to perambulate the whole territory ; and thus they set out on these periodical excursions, promising themselves, at the end of a month or a year, to return with the proceeds of their journey. To this class of petty traders, or merchants, as they were called, numbers of the primitive Christians belonged ; and, as in common with the generality of their peripatetic brethren, they seem to have fallen into the too common, though sinful habit, of commencing their travels, and pursuing their plans, in a presumptuous expectation of the continued enjoyment of life and health, the apostle James addressed to them a suitable and impressive admonition to beware of this practical denial of Providence, and to cultivate the pious disposition of committing themselves and their ways to the guidance of the Lord.*

In carrying on their business, those itinerant merchants do not encumber themselves with any thing beyond the saleable contents of their travelling chest, not even with those implements which we may be apt to imagine indispensable to every negotiation with customers. In selling cloth, for instance, they never trouble themselves, like the petty traders of the same class in our country, by carrying about with them a measuring-rod, for ascertaining the exact quantity to

* James iv. 13-15.

cut off the piece; but, after the primitive fashion, which obtained before artificial measures were thought of, they reckon by finger lengths, hand-breaths, spans, or cubits, which is done by taking the length from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow. The only convenience of this sort they provide is a small pair of scales, which may be of use in determining the quantities of spices they may sell, but which are carried about with them more from the force of immemorial custom than from views of the practical purposes to which they are applied. In ancient times, when money was in a state of bullion, and consequently required to be weighed, the possession of a pair of scales was an indispensable companion of every merchant, as no business transaction could be accomplished without an appeal to the decision of the balance; and, although the stamping of money was introduced soon after the time of Abraham, and the improvement effected by that invention in coinage was so great, and found so practically useful, that it has continued ever since in all civilized countries, yet the itinerant merchants of the East still retain in many places the primitive practice of weighing money; and hence in Syria, Egypt, and throughout Turkey, any piece, let it be ever so much effaced, is current. *

When they have occasion to negotiate with large sums of money, the orientals, instead of troubling themselves with counting coin by coin, have sums to a certain amount ready told and sealed up in long narrow leather purses, which are made for the purpose. As confidence in the accuracy and honesty with which these bags are filled is indispensable to their continued use, they are made up under the eye of public officers appointed to the business, after receiving whose approval, they are passed from one hand to another in the intercourse of society and business in perfect security, as containing the amount of what they are marked for. Some of these purses will hold fifty or sixty, or an

* Genesis xxiii. 16.

hundred pounds sterling; and persons of rank and opulence, when they travel in their carriage with a numerous suite of attendants, generally furnish themselves with a few of these money bags to defray the expenses of their journey. With such an indispensable convenience, Naaman, the Syrian nobleman, had liberally supplied himself before setting out to consult the prophet of Israel; and, consequently, it is easy to account for the apparent readiness with which he handed to the supposed messenger of his benefactor the large sums which he gratefully pressed on the acceptance of Gehazi.

The manufacture of cloth was, in early times, considered the exclusive province of women; and hence in that beautiful little poem, in which Solomon describes the qualities of a good wife in conformity with the primitive manners of the East, her assiduity in plying her needle and conducting similar departments of female industry, are placed in the foreground of the picture.* Ladies of the highest rank did not reckon it derogatory to their dignity to spin and weave with their own hands the clothing worn by their families; and indeed so much had the simple habits of society established a contrary way of thinking, that for wives, mothers, and mistresses of households, to buy their dress, or the stuffs of which these were made, would have been looked upon as an act of extravagance, or a mark of indolence, which deeply involved the respectability of their character; and, accordingly, it was customary for newly married women to be accompanied by maidens with staff and spindle in their hands, to remind them, amid the dreams of joy their fancy might indulge on that happy change in their mode of life, of the useful and industrious habits it was the prime duty of a wife to cultivate. From the manner in which the women of Barbary and Syria, who, like their ancient countrywomen, are alone employed in this work, and

* Proverbs xxxi. 10.

which is exactly similar to the description Solomon has given of the process in his day, it appears that the wool or flax was spun by taking the spindle in the right hand, so that by twisting it, the thread was twisted, while the distaff, on which the raw material was rolled, was held on the guard of the left arm, and the thread drawn down by the fingers of the left hand. Weaving, as at first practised, was a simple but very tedious affair, as the women did not make use of a shuttle, but conducted every thread of warf with their fingers. Looms, however, were known to the Hebrews, though they were the invention of later times, and in form and construction appear to have resembled those still much in use in eastern countries, which are perpendicular, narrow, and worked by one person. The web was like that described by Wilde, which he saw lately in a loom in Jerusalem, where 'the worsted was not worked in, but actually wove into the piece, and the pattern of the weaving changed, so that the colour of the thread was completely thrown out, forming a triple fringe, through which the weft cannot be seen.' In order to prevent the cloth from rending lengthwise, or being unravelled on the loom, strong and thicker threads than the rest were inserted crosswise here and there to give solidity to the weft, and that precaution was particularly observed towards the fag end of the piece. 'In two of our specimens,' says Mr Wilde, 'we find twelve thick threads crossing the piece, and the tassels tied exactly as they are at the end of a piece of modern Irish linen. But the slipping of the weft is prevented by a curious process, performed by tying the threads of the warp together, so that each is secured to the thread at each side of it. This process forms a slight ridge at the end of the piece, and is rather ornamental. This fringe appears to be alluded to in that passage of Scripture where the Israelites were directed to make fringes in the borders of their garments, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders

a ribband of blue. I have seen a species of mummy cloth in Egypt corresponding to this description precisely. Such was likely the "hem of the garment."'*

The orientals were, and still are, accomplished adepts in the arts of interweaving pictures, and all sorts of ingenious devices, in their manufactures. Flowers, houses, human figures, landscapes, fancy work of every description were imitated in their webs and tapestries with such exquisite skill, that it was difficult sometimes to distinguish needle or loom work from painting; and it was with this sort of embroideries, that the palanquin of Solomon was lined inside, as the coaches in Turkey to this day are, with ornamental coverlets, interspersed like his too with poetic mottoes, either purely moral, or in praise of the owners and their friends.† Suppose, then, that while one of these pieces of tapestry was in progress, and the work had advanced so far that part of the landscape, the human figure, or the flower, was distinctly traceable, all at once the artist should stop and cut out the unfinished workmanship, with the images of anticipated beauty left disordered, mutilated, or destroyed, is not this sudden arrestment of a work, in which the decorations were just rising into view, an emblem of human life cut short in mid career, ere yet the fair prospects of fancy and hope were more than half realized? Accordingly, this is a favourite metaphor with eastern poets, and Isaiah also has enlisted it in his service, where he speaks of having 'cut off like a weaver his life.'‡

The manufacture of linen is of remote antiquity, and was carried on in Egypt with so much spirit, and to

* Matt. ix. 20. Wilde's Travels, vol. i. p. 432. Herodotus informs us that the Egyptian women, with the produce of their needles and looms, used to carry on a considerable extent of commerce. And Maillet tells us that the women of the same country, in more recent times, used to deal in selling things woven of silk, gold, and silver, of cotton or linen cloth of their own making. This is exactly what, in the beautiful passage above quoted, Solomon describes the Jewish women to have done.

† Song of Solomon iii. 10. ‡ Isaiah xxxviii. 12.

so great perfection, that it was the state dress on grand and public occasions of the great officers in that kingdom. Joseph, on the day of his elevation to the vice-royalty of Egypt, is described to have been invested with a tunic of white linen; and, indeed, the manufacture of that country was so greatly valued for the elegance of the texture, as well as for the virgin purity of its colour, that nothing but the fine linen of Egypt was used at festivities by priests and people of rank when in full dress, and on all occasions when sumptuousness and grandeur were displayed.

Of carpenter and smith work, few notices occur in the Scriptures demanding any particular illustration. The implements commonly used in these trades, and some resembling the shape of those still in use, seem to have been made at an early period, as figures of men working with them frequently appear on the ancient monuments of Egypt. That the axe consisted of a heavy sharpened piece of iron, with a wooden helve, is evident from the law concerning man-slaughter, where it is said, 'When a man goeth into the wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetcheth a stroke with the axe to cut down the tree, and the head slippeth from the helve, and lighteth upon his neighbour that he shall die: he shall flee into one of those cities and live.'* Its ponderous weight, and when wielded by a person of muscular strength, its power of execution, are alluded to in various passages of Scripture. David, describing with a prophetic hand the destruction which the Chaldeans would bring upon Jerusalem, says, 'A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees. But now they break down the carved work thereof at once with axes and hammer.'† The same sacred penman, describing a period of great and wide spread desolation in the country, gives, by one stroke of his pen, a graphic picture of the terrible disaster, when he compares it to

* Deut. xix. 5. † Psalm lxxiv. 5, 6.

the demolition of trees by the woodman's axe :—'Our bones are scattered at the graves' mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth.'* Isaiah, under the same image of an axe, represents the Assyrians as instruments in the hand of offended Heaven for overthrowing and scattering the nations :—'Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it, as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up.'† And John the Baptist compared the degenerate Jews of his day, who had sadly declined from the pure faith of their fathers, and to whom the privilege of repenting and bringing forth good works was granted for a season, to a tree, at the root of which an axe was laid that threatened its existence :—'And now also the axe is laid to the root of the trees ; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.'‡

The saw is another implement mentioned in the Scriptures, and was probably an invention of the Egyptians, although at a much later period than the axe and some other mechanical utensils, because it was made of iron, the use of which was not known in the earliest ages of the world. It was generally employed for the purpose of cutting wood, but that its use in cutting stone also was early familiar to eastern people, is evident from its being employed by the Tyrian workmen who were concerned in the building of the palace which Solomon erected for his favourite Egyptian queen. But there is this difference between the form of the oriental saw and that in use with us, that the teeth incline towards the handle, while, in ours, they lie away from it.

The early history of the art of communicating knowledge by means of alphabetical or hieroglyphical characters, is lost in the depths of a remote antiquity ; and whether the knowledge of this invaluable discovery was

* Psalm cxli. 7. † Isaiah x. 15. ‡ Matthew iii. 10.

a gift directly bestowed by God, or was the gradual result of human effort and invention; whether it was diffused through the world by the Hebrews, or had been an established medium of communication before the national existence of that people; it is certain that it was known and practised in every region of the East at a very early period. From its nature, it continued much longer in a state of infantine and rude immaturity than most of the other useful arts; for, instead of the few and simple articles, paper, pens, and ink, that we employ, and the convenient ease and expedition with which transactions of every kind can now be recorded; the materials in ancient times were, in many respects, unsuitable, the instruments unwieldy, and the process of writing slow and laborious. Earth or sand, from its capability of easily receiving impressions, naturally suggested itself as the first substance on which the hand was exercised; and accordingly, in several countries of Asia, in which modern improvements have not yet obliterated the customs of antiquity, the art of writing is taught by the fingers being made to trace characters in sand. In Barbary, smooth boards are used, covered over with a thin coat of whiting, which can be effaced with a sponge, or renewed at pleasure; and in India, the children are placed on the ground or pavement, which is strewed for the purpose with a quantity of fine sand; and, when the covered surface has been all written over, another sprinkling, taken from the sand-heap, enables them to extend their lessons a little further. But a slight movement of the arm or foot, the occurrence of the most trivial accident, will efface in a moment all vestige of the writer's labours: and accordingly, by an allusion to the ephemeral duration of such inscriptions, the prophet Jeremiah declares that 'they who depart from the Lord shall be written in the earth,'—shall be blotted out and forgotten as soon as the writing of a child on the sand.* The un-

* Jer. xvii. 13. Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. p. 122.

suitable nature of this substance for records designed to be permanent, naturally directed attention to the more solid and durable rock, on which letters were engraven with a sharp instrument of iron, and daubed over with a white paint like lead, which sunk deep; and, strange as it may seem, this hard material was long employed for writing upon, as appears, were other evidence wanting, from specimens still extant in many parts of Asia, particularly on the written mountains near Sinai, as well as throughout the wilderness at large, where are several inscriptions, in characters, however, which it is not easy to decypher. In the book of Job, which is supposed by many to be the oldest in the world, some reference might naturally be expected to this ancient mode of preserving matters of importance; and, accordingly, we find the patriarch, in that memorable and solemn declaration he made to his friends, of his faith and hope even in the deepest darkness of his affliction, expressing a wish, that his words 'might be engraven with an iron pen, and (stained with) lead in the rock for ever.'* From the natural and rugged rock, the preparation of smooth and polished stones was a great step in the improvement of the art of writing; and the most authentic testimonies establish the fact, that, all the world over, but especially among the ancient people of Asia, dressed slabs and pillars of stone were employed for perpetuating their laws, public acts, discoveries, observations, and all remarkable events. In the early history of the Israelites, great interest attaches to stone engravings, as it was on this hard and solid material that the finger of God inscribed those ten commandments which comprehend the rule of moral obedience to man,—that the same supreme authority afterwards renewed them,—and that, long after, Joshua made a copy of them at Mount Ebal.†

Bricks, hard dried in the sun and fire, were used for

* Job xix. 23. † Exodus xxxiv. 4; Joshua viii. 32.

writing upon about the same period that stones were in general use for that purpose. The introduction and use of these originated with the people of Babylon, where few or no natural stones were to be found, and where tiles had been early manufactured on an extensive scale, out of the rich loamy soil with which that country abounded. This earth, consolidated by the skilful mixture of bitumen, yielded tiles sufficiently durable for the purposes of agriculture and building; and to a people, many of whom were daily employed in brick making, it was a most natural idea to occur, that tiles might be easily turned to account, in the dearth of stones, for receiving letters and pictures. The way in which the process was performed, was, after tracing the intended inscription while the clay was soft, to lay this tablet of earth carefully in the sun, and allow it to remain in that exposure until the progress of baking had been so far advanced, that, without risk of injury to the engraving, it could be removed, and farther hardened in the kiln. From the Babylonians, who were the original inventors of this material for writing, it spread and was extensively used in the East. But at the time of Ezekiel, the use of burnt brick for recording events, was in a great measure confined to Babylon. At all events, it was the most familiar method in use there; and as that prophet, from his long residence in that country, was well acquainted with the habits of the people, his drawing a picture of Jerusalem and its siege, for the conviction of his brethren, upon a tile, is a minute incident, affording an interesting and important illustration of the authenticity of scripture facts, from its consistency with the well-known customs of the place and time.*

* Ezek. iv. 1. There are, in the Island of Elephantina, singular memorials of the Roman troops which have been quartered there. Many broken red pieces of earthenware, shreds of the potsherd, are found, which appear to have served as tickets to the soldiers, assigning them their portions of corn. The name of the emperor Antoninus was found on some of them. They are written in Greek, and in black,

Lead and brass were also employed as materials for writing. Books written on rolls or leaves of lead are spoken of by many ancient authors; and the celebrated antiquary, Montfaucon, describes one of Egyptian characters, which he purchased at Rome in 1699, as being about four inches long and three wide, and as consisting of six leaves, which were bound together with small nails of the same metal. Brass was also used, and from its durability, laws, proclamations, treaties, and other documents of importance, were generally engraven on brazen plates, and, when designed to be exhibited to the public, were written in very large characters, and hung up in the market-places and temples, so that the people, though passing by in haste, might see and read them. To this custom of displaying public acts in a legible form, allusion is made in the prophecy of Isaiah, where he was told to write it before them in a table, and not in a book, that it be for the time to come, for ever and ever,—and also in the prophecy of Habakkuk, when that servant of the Lord was commanded to 'write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it.'* The use of brass as a material for writing was known to the Hebrews, as appears from a passage in the book of Jeremiah, when, speaking of the sin of Judah, that prophet represents it as marked in characters as indelible as if it were written with a pen of diamond; and that it was a tablet of brass he had in his eye in using this expression, is evident from its being the instrument always employed for making deep and durable inscriptions on the hardest substances.†

in a running hand, very similar to that which is used in a Greek letter at this day. They are in small pieces, about half the size of a man's hand, and each one appears complete, though it is difficult to decipher them. Many of these potsherds, with Greek inscriptions, being generally receipts for corn, &c., are in the British Museum; they were brought from Egypt, and are very common in Nubia.—*Rev. Mr Wilson's Malta.*

* Isaiah xxx. 8; Habakkuk ii. 2. † Jeremiah xvii. 1.

Tablets of wood were more easily procured, and, from their great conveniency, were used in common life, answering something like the purposes of slates in modern times. If the natural colour of the board was retained, the characters were formed by a species of light ink, or, if it was blackened, they made use of chalk, both of which admitted of being easily wiped off when necessary, by a sponge. Such was the writing-desk on which Zacharias, when unable to hold conversation with his friends, communicated his wishes in regard to the name of his son.*

Wood, however, when used for the purpose of writing, was not always prepared in the shape of smooth and broad tablets. Sticks or rods were also common, some of them made square, while others were of a three-sided form. The square ones were appropriated to all sorts of common subjects, and to poetry consisting of stanzas of four lines; while those of three sides were reserved for a peculiar kind of verse, called triplets. Sometimes several of these sticks were laid together, and in this manner written upon, 'forming,' says Dr Clarke, 'a kind of frame, which was so constructed, that each stick might be turned for the facility of reading, the end of each running out alternately on both sides of the frame.' In the days of Moses, we find this mode of writing practised; for we find that leader of Israel on one occasion commanded 'to speak unto the children of Israel, and take every one of them a rod, according to the house of their fathers, of all their

* Luke i. 63. In the cold northern climate of Europe, the Romans generally covered their wood in tablets with a coat of wax, on which they wrote with a bodkin or stylus, the one end of which was sharp, for inscribing the characters, and the other end was flat; so that when they wished to erase any thing, they had only to turn the blunt point, and draw it along the surface of the wax. Their letters were commonly written on these boards. When four or five of them had been filled with the subject of correspondence, they were placed one upon another, and tied with a string, the knot of which was carefully sealed, and in this way they were sent to their correspondent, who, on breaking the seal, had the letter open before him.

princes, according to the house of their fathers, twelve rods; and write every man's name upon his rod.'* In like manner, many ages subsequent to the time of Moses, Ezekiel was commanded to perform the same service:—'Son of man, take thee one stick and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel, his companions: then take another stick, and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for all the house of Israel, his companions: and join them one to another into one stick; and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not show us what thou meanest by these? say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the sticks of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand.'†

Leaves of trees, especially of the papyrus, and linen, were also employed to write upon, the latter, to adapt it for such an application, being prepared by oiling it with a certain paint. From a very early period, this material has been used in the East, as is well known from the works of the most celebrated Arabian bards, which adorn the walls of the temple at Mecca, being carefully inscribed on painted linen, as well as from the hieroglyphic legends that are found on the bandages of Egyptian mummies, many of which are still in a state of fresh preservation. From its adoption in Egypt, Moses must have been familiar with it as a substance suitable for linen books; and, indeed, many writers of great name are of opinion that the five books of the Pentateuch, as well as others perhaps of the earlier books of Scripture were originally recorded on fine linen. More than most other materials, however, employed for writing, this manufacture was liable to injuries from the

* Num. xvii. 2, 3.

† Ezek. xxxvii. 15–20.

weather, the depredations of moths, as well as the wasting hand of time; and therefore to secure the preservation of such records as were committed to linen rolls, they were usually deposited in a wooden, and frequently an iron chest, as a precaution against fire or damp. The prophetic roll of Jeremiah, which, in all probability, was at first composed of this slender substance, was secured in the custody of an earthen vessel.*

Skins of sheep and goats were next applied to this purpose, preparatory to which they were commonly dyed of a bright yellow or red colour, and in using such soft and yielding substances, instead of the stylus, the ink was put on with a reed similarly formed with the pen now in use, or the characters were traced with a painting brush, as was originally the prevailing custom. That the Hebrews were well acquainted with the art of dyeing skins, is evident from the circumstance, that the covering of the tabernacle was partly formed of dyed rams' skins; and that they were also in the habit of writing on the same materials, the existence of several ancient copies of the Scriptures on rolls of skins sufficiently attests.* The art of preparing them, however, remained in a very rude and imperfect state, until about two hundred years before the christian era, when a great improvement in the general style of their manufacture was introduced at the city of Pergamos, in consequence of which, as that place long continued unrivalled for the smoothness, elegance, and superior adaptation of its skins for the purposes of writing, the name of Pergamena charta was given them, which, though slightly corrupted, is still retained in the English word Parchment. This vellum, recommended both by its beauty and utility, came in time to be more generally used than almost any other substance in the construction of books; and the Hebrews were not behind their neighbours in taking advantage of parchment to inscribe the sacred books of their synagogues,—some of

* Jer. xxxii. 14.

which still remain to prove the universality of its use.*

From the description now given of the substances commonly used as materials for writing, particularly skins and parchment, it is easy to perceive that books were anciently very different in form from what they are now. Instead of the square or rectangular shape they assume, and the infinity of leaves into which their contents are subdivided, they consisted of one long sheet formed by pasting together a great number of small pieces, which were generally so skilfully united, that it was often impossible for the acutest observer to discover the junctions. Josephus has given an interesting example of this. 'As the old men,' says he, (he is speaking of the learned and venerable translators of the Septuagint appearing with the result of their labours in the presence of Ptolemy Philadelphus), 'came in with their presents, which the high priest had given them to bring in to the king, and with the things on which they had these laws written in letters of gold, he addressed some questions to them respecting those sacred books, and when they had removed the covers in which they were wrapped, they shewed him the skins and the closeness of the joinings, which could not be detected, so exactly were they connected one with another.' This extended sheet was rolled round a stick in the manner we are accustomed to do with maps, or if it was of more than usual length, it was

* In the library of the university of Cambridge a MS. roll of the five books of Moses in Hebrew, is preserved, consisting of goat's skin dyed red. The dimensions of this roll are described to be forty-eight feet in length, and twenty-eight in breadth; but as the book of Leviticus is wholly wanting, and a large portion of the book of Deuteronomy, it is probable that the roll in its original and entire state would be a great deal longer. Skin rolls are still used by some Asiatic Hebrews, as we are informed by Dr C. Buchanan, that 'Cabul Jews, who travel into the interior of China say, that in some synagogues the law is still written on a roll of leather, made of goat's skin dyed red, not on vellum, but on a soft flexible leather.'

rolled round two sticks,—the wrappings beginning at the two extremities, and being continued till they met in the middle. In order to read a portion of a book, it was necessary to unroll it to that particular place, from which peculiarity the word volume is derived, which comes from a Latin word of the same signification with roll; and from the great facility which constant practice gave the ancients of rolling and unrolling their parchments, the prophet Isaiah has borrowed a very striking image to point the rapidity and ease with which the hand of the Almighty will make the expanded curtain of the visible heavens or the visible church disappear.

These rolls were commonly written only on one side, and, consequently, from the mere outward form and appearance of the volume, it was impossible to gather the least idea of its contents, until it was either partially or wholly unrolled. But this was a license that could not always be obtained; for books sometimes, but especially public documents of importance, were often open only to a certain extent, at which a seal was fastened to prevent any farther disclosure; and not unfrequently those parts of the contents to which it was not considered proper to give publicity, being interspersed over different parts of the sheet, several seals were placed at different intervals to close up the intermediate spaces from the eye of the reader. Such was the structure of the mystic book mentioned in the Revelations, and the description of which was no doubt grounded on the model of existing books or parchments, in which similar expedients for secrecy were adopted. It was closed with seven seals, so that until the Lamb, who alone was worthy to open it, broke these, its contents lay hid in impenetrable concealment. The breakage of the first seal, far from unfolding the whole mystery, laid the scroll open only so far as it admitted of being unrolled before the next seal was reached. At this point a fresh impediment concealed the rest of the book till

the same all-powerful hand withdrew the obstruction ; and so on till the seven seals,—a number chosen, as being among the orientals the well-known emblem of completeness and perfection, to denote the profound security in which the future history and events of the church are wrapped in the awful book of Providence, —were all successively removed.*

Some times the scrolls were written on both sides, and the manner in which this was done is so well explained by a modern traveller, who saw two ancient rolls of this description in Syria, that we shall give the account in his own words :—'In the monastery,' says Mr Hartley, 'I observed two very beautiful rolls containing the Liturgy of St Chrysostom, and that attributed by the Greeks to St James. You begin to read by unrolling, and you continue to read and unroll, till at last you arrive at the stick to which the roll is fastened ; then you turn the parchment round, and continue to read on the other side, rolling it gradually up till you complete the Liturgy.'† It was thus written within and without ; and it may serve to convey an intelligible and correct idea of the books described both by Ezekiel and John.‡

Ancient books, even of a didactic or historical character, were frequently illustrated by pictorial embellishments, as are many of the books to be found in Persia in the present day. Dr Brown tells us that he

* Rev. v. 1.

† Hartley's Researches in Greece and the Levant.

‡ Ezekiel xi. 10. Rev. v. 1. There are books used at the present day in some parts of Asia, which, though made of a different substance from the skin or parchment rolls above described, shew the very general prevalence of writing on both sides of the sheet. 'They are writen on palm-leaves, with an iron pen or style. The leaf is prepared with great care, and if good books the edges are gilded. Some have the margins illuminated and gilded with considerable elegance. The book is defended by thin slabs of wood, more or less ornamented. They are in one piece of several yards long, and folded like a fan. They can of course be used on both sides, and every portion may be sealed up by itself.—*Rev. H. Malcolm's Travels in S. Eastern Asia.*

saw a roll containing the Veda or Sacred Book of the Hindoos, written in the Sanscrit language on silk paper, the length of which was nine feet ten inches, and the breadth of which was four and three-eighth inches. The writing which ran down in two columns was preceded by five pictures at the top of each column, and in different parts of these columns were twenty-three paintings illustrative of some parts of their mythology. We are informed by the celebrated traveller Pococke, that he saw a manuscript of the Bible, said to be 900 years old, and preserved in the monastery of Patmos, which was full of hieroglyphical drawings; and Dr Clarke makes the general remark, that the Persian manuscripts of the present day are frequently adorned with very elegant paintings of men, women, birds, beasts, fishes, armour, musical instruments, &c., in illustration of the different subjects they contain. This is particularly the case, he adds, in books which give an account of military achievements or natural history. The mystic book, which the author of the Revelations saw in his vision, contained a variety of drawings interspersed amongst the verbal descriptions;—figures of men, and red, white, and black horses; and, it is reasonable to suppose, that, as John's ideas, both of the outward form and the internal arrangement, of books would be formed on the state of the art in his age, and no other could be intelligible to him, this book of awful import was finished in the style of illustration by pictures, which was the prevailing fashion of the time.

So long as books and documents of every kind were published in manuscript, as was universally the case before the invention of printing, those persons, who were expert in the use of the pen formed a distinct and highly respectable profession, and as the badge of their office, they usually carried about with them, as secretaries and writers in the present day in the East, an inkhorn by their side. The man whom

Ezekiel saw in the mystic scene of the destruction of Jerusalem, was attired in this manner.* Kings and great men in the East are usually attended by their secretaries wherever they are; for, as a knowledge of penmanship is far from being a general accomplishment even with orientals of the highest ranks, the presence of such a functionary is indispensable. But in the ancient court of Persia there was a class of writers who, besides performing the usual services of secretaries, were charged with the important duty of recording the principal transactions of every king's reign. They were in short the official annalists of the kingdom, and their historical journals, which were composed in verse, and enlivened occasionally with satirical or humorous comments of their own, contained an inexhaustible fund of entertaining and important intelligence. The office was generally conferred on the most eminent poets of the country, as continues to be the practice still;† and it may be easily supposed, that a book which is designed more for the amusement than the instruction of their royal master, will be as highly enriched with narratives to beguile his tedium, or feed his vanity, as the exuberant fancy of Persian bards can make it. Accordingly the perusal of these metrical annals is a favourite pastime with the higher classes in that country; and the professed story-tellers who are sent for to wait upon select companies, as singers and musicians are with us, often increase their powers of entertainment by borrowing largely from those chronological legends. Such being the prevailing taste and fashion of the place, it was most natural for Ahasuerus, when he found himself one night incapable of inviting sleep, to seek for entertainment during the tedious hours with running his eye over

* Ezekiel ix. 2.

† The most popular poem in Persia is nothing more than a collection of diversified chronicles carried on from the creation to the time of Mohammed.

the chronicles that registered the most eventful occurrences of his reign. And Providence so ordered that, his attention being particularly directed to a critical period in his life, the remembrance revived his forgotten obligations to a Jew, whose immediate advancement to power and influence proved of the greatest service to his exiled countrymen.

The manner of reading among the orientals is not less peculiar than the style of their writing. 'Generally speaking,' says the Rev. Mr Jowett, 'people in these countries seem not to understand a book till they have made it vocal. They usually go on reading aloud with a kind of singing voice, moving their heads and bodies in time, and making a monotonous cadence at regular intervals, thus giving emphasis, although not such as would please an English ear. Very often they seem to read without perceiving the sense, and to be pleased with themselves, merely because they can go through the mechanical act of reading in any way. They run over a full period as if they had no perception of it, and stop in the middle of a sentence whenever they happen to want to take a breath. On one occasion, when I was shewing some persons from an English book how we read inartificially and naturally, they laughed and said, "You are not reading, you are talking." I might retort upon an oriental reader, "You are not reading, you are chaunting."' Apply this remark to the interesting incident of Philip's interview with the Ethiopian eunuch, and it will be easily perceived how the evangelist ascertained on reaching the side of the chariot, both the character of the book, and the particular portion of it that engaged the attention of that devout foreigner. Sitting alone in his travelling carriage, he was beguiling the tedium of the way by reading to himself, without having, so far as it appears, any intention of communicating the contents of the book to his attendants, and yet, according to the immemorial practice of the

orientals, he read aloud, with such an audible voice, that a passenger at a little distance from his chariot, could perfectly hear and understand what he said.*

The idea of transporting men and goods on the surface of water was originally confined to rafts formed by the junction of several pieces of timber or air-bags, and as the crossing from one side of a stream or a lake to the opposite bank, was the utmost extent of voyaging contemplated in early ages, such contrivances were sufficiently safe for all the purposes of local intercourse. The Egyptians early displayed greater skill and ingenuity in the construction of water vessels out of the papyrus or bulrush with which the banks of the Nile abounded. These slender and pliant reeds they tied firmly together, or, more frequently, wove them with elaborate care into the figure and solid texture necessary for floating; and, as after all they were nothing more than wicker baskets, through the interstices of which the water would ooze and cause them to sink, they adopted the additional precaution of covering them over with an external coating of bitumen, by which they were rendered impervious to moisture. These light and convenient wherries were the peculiar vessels of the country, and so fond were the inhabitants of them, either from immemorial usage, or from the facility with which the materials are procured, that to this day vessels of papyrus, called Djerms, of all sizes, are constantly plying on the several branches of the Nile in the neighbourhood of Aboukir.† Of this description was the ark of bulrushes, daubed with slime and pitch, in which the mother of Moses exposed the child of her hopes;‡ and such, also, were the vessels of bulrushes to which Isaiah alludes as characteristic of the land against

* Acts viii. 27.

† Several of these were taken by the ships under Sir Sidney Smith.

‡ Exodus ii. 3.

which he was commissioned to denounce a woe, for being a spoiler of Israel.*

Besides the frail barks just described, the Egyptians had also wooden boats, which, as seen in the sculptures and paintings that are extant, appear so long and narrow, that they would be taken for hollowed trees, if Herodotus, who has given a particular account of their structure, had not informed us that they were formed of planks laid together in the manner of bricks, and fastened by an outer layer of deals, the joinings of which were stopped up by a strong and compact cement. The Hebrews, during their long residence in Egypt, must have become familiar with both these kinds of boats ; but whether they formed theirs implicitly upon the Egyptian model, or had themselves introduced some improvements in boat-building, no authentic information has reached us beyond the fact of their being no strangers to the use of ferry boats.†

Large vessels, capable of performing long and distant voyages, seem to have been the invention of an early age ;‡ although, either as merchant ships, or men-of-war, the best of those in use among the ancients were rude in construction, diminutive in size, and poor in their general equipment, compared with the advanced state of naval architecture in the present day. They were impelled by oars,§ or by oars and sails combined ;‖ and their light and moveable masts were seldom hoisted, unless when occasion required. Their hulls were much flatter in the bottom than ours ; because, as the crew never ventured out to the high seas, to which their vessels were ill adapted, but contented themselves, for the most part, with cruising along the coast, in order to effect an easy landing in case of accidents, or take in provisions at pleasure, that precaution was necessary for enabling them to pursue their course in shallow

* Isaiah xviii. 2.
† 2 Sam. xix. 18.
‡ Gen. xlix. 13. Judges v. 17.
§ Ezek. xxvii. 6, 26, 29 ; Jonah i. 13.
‖ Isaiah xxxiii. 23.

water, or to obtain shelter in stress of weather. Incapable of living in stormy seas, they confined their voyages to certain periods of the year; and if, in the course of a long voyage, they were overtaken by the arrival of winter, they made for the nearest convenient port, in which they lay moored till the sailing season returned. Even after the voyage was resumed, the ship's progress was necessarily slow and tedious; the more so, that, as they enjoyed not the advantage of a compass, and a lowering sky or hazy atmosphere, by obscuring the friendly light of the stars, deprived them of their only guide in steering their course, they often deviated far from the direct line of their path, and were obliged, in retracing their way, to fetch so wide a circuit, that much time was always consumed in correcting unavoidable errors.

The view now given of the imperfect state of navigation among the ancients, will serve to illustrate several particulars in the celebrated voyage of Paul. He sailed, it will be remembered, in a ship of Alexandria, which, at that time, was a populous and flourishing city,—in point of commercial activity and enterprise, the first in the East, and, from its local connexion with Egypt, the grand grain market of the ancient world, carrying on a monopoly of the corn trade with Rome; and in these circumstances it is reasonable to suppose, that her merchantmen, which were employed in carrying annually most valuable cargoes to the capital, would be manned and fitted up with every advantage that the nautical science of the time afforded: Yet, in point of fact, the incidents of the voyage performed by this Alexandrian vessel shew, in a very remarkable manner, how greatly behind the moderns the ancient masters of the world were in their acquaintance with practical navigation. Its slow progress—its being unable to make head against a gale—the approach of the season when sailing was thought dangerous—its putting into a harbour, which was soon found

not commodious as winter quarters—its departing thence—its sailing along the coast of Crete—and the crew losing all their reckoning from the want of the star-light—all these are circumstances in harmony with contemporary accounts of similar voyages: and prove how far the men of that age were from having attained that mastery over the wind and tide, which is one of the greatest of modern achievements.

According to Chardin, every ship in the East is furnished with a boat, which, instead of being stowed upon deck, as in European vessels, is attached to the stern, and left floating in the sea. This position is sufficiently convenient and safe in calm weather; but when a storm rises, and the light skiff is violently tossed on the heaving billows, the cable, by which it is fastened to the ship, is in danger of being snapped, and the boat set adrift; and, to prevent such a loss, which, in the event of any serious damage befalling the vessel, would be a terrible catastrophe, the crew are in the habit, on the threatened appearance of a storm, of drawing up the boat, not indeed on deck, but, by shortening the cable, bringing it close to the ship's side, so that the violence of the agitation is greatly diminished; and, by its being made to keep time with the motions of the vessel, there is far less risk of injury to the mooring. The boat belonging to the Egyptian ship in which Paul sailed, was towed after it in a similar manner; and, on the outbreak of the violent tempest that overtook it, was further secured by 'being taken up,' or near. When the storm rose to such a height as to baffle the usual resources in times of danger, they proceeded to 'undergird the ship;' a precaution which, both among the Greeks and Romans, was never adopted, except when all other measures were found unavailing. This method of protecting the ship may be described as follows:—A long cable being suspended at one side, is passed under and taken hold of at the other, so that the two ends of the rope being brought together, are fastened

tightly on deck, in order to keep the planks from starting, and to hold the sides of the ship more firmly together. In the account of Lord Anson's voyage, this expedient is described as having been resorted to, with a view of saving a Spanish ship, which was in danger of being shattered to pieces by a violent storm. 'The crew,' says the historian, 'were obliged to throw overboard all their upper-deck guns, and to take six tiers of the cable round the ship, to prevent her opening.'*

When the tempest had subsided, and they had reason to apprehend from their soundings that they might be dashed on some rocky coast, they 'cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for day.' The form of anchors among the ancients generally resembled that of our own, except in their wanting the transverse beam of wood. Ships of large tonnage carried several, one of which, bigger and weightier than the rest, was only employed when the others were lost, or in a time of imminent danger; and although the anchors in common use were furnished with only two flukes, this last resource was armed with four barbed points, the better to fit it for grappling the ground. To drop anchor from the stern of a ship, however contrary it may be to the practice of European seamen, was done in certain cases among the ancients; and we are informed, on the testimony of Chardin, that it is still common in oriental countries.

Fishing-boats in the East are always launched at night. A little before sun-set the men employ themselves busily in preparing their nets, dragging their skiffs from the dry beach where they have been lying during the day, and pushing off to ply their midnight toils. Whatever be the reason for making choice of such a time, whether it be that the serene weather and bright sunshine render the waters too clear to hope for success in the day, or they love the coolness and

* Anson's Voyage, p. 24.

stillness of midnight, or they come much better speed, as is likely, by the glare of torch-light, than they can hope to do by any other means, it is certain that fishermen in the East almost universally prefer prosecuting their occupation during the night. 'Then may they be seen,' says Mr Roberts, 'out at sea, or on the rivers, like an illuminated city, swinging their lights above, over the sides of the boat, which the fish no sooner see than they come to the places, and then the men cast in the hook or the spear, as circumstances may require. They have many amusing sayings about the folly of the fish in being thus attracted by the glare of a torch.' This habit of fishermen in the East pursuing their labours in the still hour of night seems to have prevailed equally among their brethren in ancient Galilee, as appears from the language of Peter on one occasion:—'We have toiled all night, and have taken nothing.'* When engaged on these fishing expeditions, they generally strip themselves of all their dress except their shirt, or often merely a small piece of cloth about their waist, so that they can without inconvenience plunge into the water, when necessity requires it for disentangling their nets, or helping to drag a heavy draught into the ship; and hence Peter, who, in conformity with professional habits, was in a state of dishabille when his risen Lord made his second appearance to his disciples as they were nearing the shore, 'girt his fisher's coat about him, for he was naked,' to testify his profound respect for so exalted a character, 'and did cast himself into the sea.'†

This interview occurred in the morning, and it is worthy of notice that Eastern fishermen always return early from the labours of the night, and going ashore make their morning repast. The reason of their landing for that purpose arises from the want of accommodation as well as of fuel; and accordingly, while some of the hands are occupied in hauling the

* Luke v. 5. † John xxi. 7.

boat on the beach, others saunter about in quest of a few sticks to kindle a fire for cooking their breakfast. Of that meal the fish they have recently caught always form a part, and indeed in the warm climes of the East, that species of food is most frequently partaken of in the morning, because the heat so rapidly deteriorates their quality, that a few hours later in the day they become nearly unfit for use. The following little anecdote, related by a French traveller, may be considered not altogether inappropriately introduced, as bearing on the subject of these illustrations. 'Doubdan and his companions hired a fishing boat to take them to Sidon, but, through the insolence of the seamen, who would not row, they got no farther than Tyre that night. In the morning, finding themselves at the mercy of four or five fishermen, who did nothing but cast their nets into the sea, they employed a poor Jew, who was with them in the boat, and who could speak a little of the language used by the fishermen, to call upon them to push forward to Sidon. But they only cast their nets into the sea, to procure *themselves something to eat*. Then they landed *to dress and eat their fish*, after which they reposed themselves for two hours, while the traveller and his friends were broiling with the scorching sun and heated rocks. Being put again to sea, upon a promise of more pay, they took up their oars, and rowed for four or five miles, in order to reach Sidon that same day. They then grew tired, and being inclined to return to their fishing, they put Doubdan and *his companions on shore, and began to cook some small fish with some rice.*'* What a light does this simple narrative throw on the interesting interview between our Lord and his disciples on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias :—'That night they caught nothing. But *when the morning was now come*, Jesus stood on the shore; but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus. Then Jesus saith unto them,

* Doubdan's Voyage de terre Sainte, quoted by Harmer.

Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No. And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore; and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes. *As soon as they were come to land*, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread. Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught. Jesus saith unto them, Come and dine (eat).*

The medical art is, and always has been, at a very low ebb in the East. It is true, that we read at a remote age of physicians in Egypt, Persia, and Judea being attached to the court, and residing in the families of the great; and it might naturally have been expected, that a profession, which was so early called into existence, and which, from the nature and importance of its services, was sure not only to be honoured with royal patronage, but to meet with universal encouragement, would by this time have reached a high state of advancement,—that its members would have transmitted from age to age the result of their experience and observations, and that posterity would be reaping the benefit of their legacy in the enlightened views, the correct science, and the influential character of the present race of practitioners. Strange to say, however, medicine, in almost all the countries of the East, is nearly in the same state in the present day as it was two or three thousand years ago in the same quarter of the world;—and that its administration, instead of being followed as in Britain by a class of the most highly respectable and educated persons in the country, is in the hands of some old women, and weaker old men, who never dream of extending their practice beyond the range of a few external applications and simples, recommended not so much by any known virtue of the herbs themselves, as by the circumstance of their possessing the reputation of traditionary excellence. The

* John xxi. 4.

fact, that a powder or a liniment was sanctioned by the use of their fathers and grandfathers, is regarded as indisputable evidence of its being the best and only recipe for the cure; and no matter though the patient be conscious of deriving little or no benefit from the prescription, and may be even gradually and visibly declining, the fatal result is ascribed not to the fault of the medicine, but to neglect in observing the lucky hour for administering it; the nostrum retains its place with undiminished honour, and is destined again, with equal confidence, to be applied to disappoint the hopes of some new applicant. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the lists of the sick, the maimed, and the dying, should make up a much more melancholy amount in eastern lands than elsewhere, and that the poor sufferers, despairing of relief in the only quarter they have been accustomed to look for it, should be ready to grasp with eagerness at the slightest prospect of recovering the lost blessings of health, come from what hand it may. A knowledge of medicine thus becomes an invaluable recommendation to the stranger, and the announcement of the arrival of a professed doctor spreads like lightning, and produces a sensation sufficient to set the whole country in motion. Innumerable instances might be given of this peculiar feature in the habits of eastern people, but two must suffice. When the English ambassador, to whose suite Mr Morier was attached, was travelling through Persia, 'the news that a foreign doctor was at hand very soon spread, and at every halt our camp was thronged with the sick, not only of the village near to which we were encamped, but of all the surrounding villages. Many came several days' journies to consult our doctor, and were brought to him in spite of every difficulty and inconvenience; some came on asses, bolstered up with cushions, and supported by their relatives; others on camels, whose rough pace must have been torture to any one in sickness. It may be

conceived what a misfortune sickness must be in a country where there is no medical relief, nor even a wheeled conveyance to seek relief when it is at hand.'* When Dr Richardson was in Jerusalem, crowds of invalids,—the halt, the blind, the lame, the sick of every disease,—crowded to his lodgings in such vast numbers, that he neither had any time left to himself, nor could he satisfy their demands. They actually laid hold of him, as if he alone stood between them and death. 'They fell down before him, grasped his legs, kissed his feet, and besought him with the most pressing importunities, to prescribe for their complaints. Whether he was in the house, or walked the streets, or sat down in the market place, he was equally besieged. Some needy sufferer discovered him, and came up under the wing of some favoured Turk, to prefer a request in behalf of the invalid. No sooner had he prescribed for one, than another victim of disease appeared, and kept him in constant employment.'† It is not difficult to imagine the great influence which a successful practitioner must acquire over a people so circumstanced, whom he may be the instrument of raising from death to life; and what rare advantages his character as a physician for the body will afford him in communicating instructions which, by the blessing of God, may heal also the more virulent diseases of the soul. Nay, even though the deep-rooted opposition of religious prejudice and political custom may foreclose all direct attempts to enter on the subject of christianity, and the least allusion to it must be avoided as forbidden ground; yet, where the heart is softened by kindness, the mind becomes teachable, and the patient will be insensibly drawn, through the silent influence of his christian physician, to imbibe those truths which it is the province of the Gospel only to unfold, and those

* See Journal, p. 53.

† Richardson's Travels in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

promises which the Gospel only can impart. It was in this character of physician that our Lord travelled through the various districts of Judea, dispensing, with unbounded benevolence, the miraculous tokens of his healing power. Crowds of all ages and ranks waited on him wherever he went, under every form of disease known in the climate; and, where the invalids were themselves disabled from following him, they were carried in couches and mattresses by their friends, so that the roads and streets in his neighbourhood presented the spectacle of an extensive infirmary. Never had such an immense and motley assemblage poured round a physician, because never had a physician appeared before with such powers as Jesus. But, as the circumstance of his producing a popular commotion by his unwearied and indiscriminate attention to the multitudes of sick that collected about him in every place, was never charged as a crime against him, even by the most malignant and eagle-eyed of his enemies, it appears to have been anciently as much as it is still, the habit of people in oriental countries, to follow in crowds in the wake of a physician; and with astonishing effect did he turn it to account, in furthering the great object of his mission. Multitudes, whose ears were closed, and whose hearts were armed against him by prejudices, stronger and more impenetrable than any which are seated in the bosom of a modern Mussulman, were, by the coals of fire he heaped upon their heads, mollified with gratitude and kindly feelings; and, in spite of the deep malevolence of their nature, were bound by irresistible attachment to his person and cause. Jews—whose whole souls were engrossed with visions of the worldly grandeur of Messiah—were led, by his matchless benevolence, to regard him as a spiritual Deliverer, who came to save his people from their sins, and through means of the temporal benefits they derived from him, to wait upon Him in faith for those spiritual blessings which it was the special design of his ministry to impart.

Scripture gives us no account of the ancient pharmacopœia ; so that, with the exception of the leprosy (for which special and strict regulations were laid down in the Mosaic law, and these, owing to the very infectious nature of that malady, are peremptorily enforced in all eastern countries still), we can form little or no idea of the ordinary mode of treating disease. Nor have we any better knowledge of the ingredients which entered into the composition of their medical prescriptions, as we are entirely ignorant of the whole range of their materia medica, except that oil was considered a sovereign remedy in most cases. The use of this liniment was first introduced by the physicians of Egypt, the influence of whose great reputation in the physical sciences, seems to have procured it universal adoption throughout the ancient world, insomuch that it got the precedence of every other ; and whether it was recommended by the pleasant sensations it produced, or from a real experience of its use in warm climates, so great was its reputed efficacy, that in almost all disorders, whether internal complaints, fractures, or affections of the skin, scarcely any remedy was applied, or thought likely to succeed, unless oil formed one of the principal elements. In the days of our Lord and the apostles, we find it still retaining its high place in public estimation ; and so little were the Jews of that day behind their neighbours in the opinion they entertained of its virtues, that a special dispensation was granted in its favour, of being administered on the Sabbath-day. Moreover, travellers commonly carried a small phial of it along with them, when they set out on a journey ; and accordingly, in the parable of the good Samaritan, that benevolent man is described as taking from his stores, on the solitary road, a mixture of oil and wine, according to the approved practice of the day, which he applied to the wounds of the hapless stranger. In times somewhat later than this, a variety of charms were used at the moment of administering

the application ; and as, in the growing superstition of the age, these enchantments came to be regarded as the source of all the pre-eminent virtues of the oil, we find the apostle Jude, with the view of eradicating such a notion from the minds of professing Christians in his day, adverting to it in his epistle, in language which admits of no satisfactory explanation, except in supposing it to contain a reference to the use of these enchantments :—'Is any man sick among you?' says he, 'let him send,' not to the charmers, whose mystic rites serve only to dazzle and delude the beholder, but 'for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, whose blessing alone can render the remedy effectual.'*

Among the amusements of Eastern people, music, both vocal and instrumental, has always been a favourite pastime with all classes, and on almost all occasions,—when grinding at the mill or holding the distaff,—at funerals as well as marriages,—in private entertainments in the house, as well as by travellers in the caravans. The musical instruments still in use are almost without any variation the same as those which have in all ages enlivened the monotony of oriental life ; and we are thus enabled to form a tolerably clear and correct idea of those which are mentioned in scripture, as employed either in sacred purposes or on common occasions. Cymbals were a pair of brass instruments, in the form of a cup, and were sounded by striking them violently against one another, at regular intervals, keeping time with the voice of the player. They produced a strong martial sound, and were well suited, therefore, for celebrating the return of David, after the defeat of the Philistines, as it is generally supposed that these were the instruments of music carried by the women on that joyful occasion. They were much used to heighten the effect of the splendid religious services of the temple, as appears from the

* James v. 14.

frequent allusions made to cymbals, loud cymbals, high-sounding cymbals, in the Psalms of David. But in the Jewish church, in the time of Paul, they seem to have fallen greatly in estimation; for we find him referring to the empty sound of 'a tinkling cymbal,' as a fit emblem of the worthlessness of the character which was devoid of christian charity. The dulcimer is the oriental bagpipe, formed of a shaggy goat's skin, in shape exactly resembling the large leathern bottles used in the East, and the pipes consist of reeds pointed with the small end of cow's horns. The flute, of which there were many varieties, so nearly resembled those generally known among ourselves, as not to require any particular notice. The harp* or lyre was a light portable instrument with strings, originally invented by Jubal, and a great favourite with the orientals. It was carried by the ancient prophets of Israel in their sacred processions, and it was used in private life also, not only as a lively instrument for cheering society, but for its power in soothing the agitated passions of the human breast. David was a great master of this instrument, and, moreover, he was so passionately fond of it, that he not only played upon it with eminent success in the palace of the imperious and jealous Saul, but carried it about with him as his inseparable companion, to solace his mind in solitude, and to aid him in celebrating the praises of God. It was one of the principal instruments of music employed in the service of the temple, and, from the variety of its tones, was capable with equal perfection of passing from grave to gay, from lively to severe. It was the instrument with which the Hebrew captives beguiled the tedious hours of their Assyrian exile, and its exquisite tones had so captivated the ears of their masters, that they often demanded the gratification of a Hebrew melody.† The psaltery was a large and unwieldy instrument with strings, seldom or never used in private houses,

* Kinnor, Hebrew. † Psalm cxxxvii.

but reserved for public occasions, or the special service of divine worship. It was made of precious wood,* and formed pretty much in the form of an irregular triangle, open on one side, and filled up with strings in the centre, the number of which varied from twelve to sixteen. There was also another form of this instrument, very much resembling a bow, known to the Hebrews, and borrowed originally from the Egyptians, in playing upon which, the performer stood or sat at pleasure. The violin was an instrument similar to the modern guitar. The cornet was a wooden instrument of the serpentine form, blown by the mouth, and yielding a deep tone. The organ of the ancients was nothing more than a collection of reeds, commonly known by the name of Pan's pipes, and played by the mouth, as is frequently seen done by strolling musicians. The timbrel included the many varieties of the drum, and on all occasions of public rejoicing, whether civil or religious, it constituted a conspicuous part of the instrumental music. Contrary to the practice in our day, the performers on the timbrel were always women, and accordingly we read of Miriam celebrating the miraculous passage of the Red Sea,† and the daughter of Jephtha coming out to meet her victorious father, both of them at the head of a band of female attendants, who danced to the notes of this powerful instrument.‡

Dancing was an amusement to which the orientals, in all ages, have been passionately devoted ; and, what appears strange, they carried their extreme fondness for that exercise to such a degree, as to introduce it into the service of religion, not only in the heathen temples, but even in that of the true God. In later times, however, while the dance still continued to be the most popular pastime, it was not considered becoming the dignity of persons of rank to dance in society ; and accordingly, professional dancers were engaged to attend in the houses of the great, on occa-

* 1 Kings x. 12. † Exodus xv. 20. ‡ Judges xi. 34.

sions of festivity, and exhibit their performances for the entertainment of the guests. These dances were a sort of pantomime, in which, not content with displaying their agility in assuming the most varied and elegant attitudes, the performers carried on a continued story, generally some love adventure of the gods; and, by their changes of feature and position—by the waving of their hands—the position of their legs and feet—and the successive movements of their bodies,—imitated the strong passions of love, jealousy, hatred, and all the various affections of the human breast. The dancers of those days carried their art to as great a perfection, and displayed in their performances as consummate address, as the most accomplished actors in modern times. Rare, indeed, are the instances mentioned in ancient history, of persons in high life volunteering to enter the lists as amateur performers. But it was sometimes done in private life—although only in the luxurious and dissipated circles of the Roman nobility during the time of the emperors; and accordingly, we are not surprised at finding that the gay and profligate Salome laid aside the modesty of her sex, to grace the anniversary feast of Herod's birthday, by an exhibition of her handsome person and elegant dancing in presence of the tetrarch and his assembled lords.

The pride of the royal host was highly gratified with the honour conferred on the occasion, by a lady of the princess' high rank condescending to dance publicly for the entertainment of his guests, and in the warmth and grateful overflow of his feelings, as her elevated station put it out of his power to reward her performance with the customary fee, he made an unconditional promise of granting whatever she might choose to ask, however costly and exorbitant her terms might be. The promise, extravagant as it seems, was quite in accordance with the fashions of oriental princes, who in all ages have shown a disposition to

bestow their largesses with boundless prodigality on favourite dancers; and many of whom, even in recent times, have furnished instances to show, that the Asiatic princes of the present day inherit the tastes of their ancient predecessors, and keep on a level with them, both in their devoted admiration of the dance, and in the extraordinary marks of favour they bestow on favourite performers. Public dancers are generally paid by sticking their ringlets and different parts of their dress full of coins; and immense sums are sometimes given away in this manner for one night's performance. Mr Forbes informs us, that one of the most beautiful and flourishing villages he ever saw in Hindostan, was given by a native chief, with its adjacent grounds, to a company of dancing girls; and Thevenot mentions an oriental prince who made a present of a magnificent khan to a female dancer, for having particularly charmed him by her performances. Malcolm tells us, that a young dancing girl from Shiraz, gained, by her exquisite dancing, the heart of the late shah, and was raised from her humble rank to a place in the royal seraglio; and it was generally reported, says the same writer, that some of the most ancient and powerful branches of the Persian dynasty owed their decline and fall to their unbounded liberality to favourite dancers. In expressing his extreme gratification, then, with the exhibition of Salome, Herod, though carried away by the feeling of the moment, did not exceed the munificence of other eastern princes to the same set of purveyors to public amusement; and it is extremely probable, that the artful and malignant Herodias, knowing the high value set upon dancing, and the certain reward that would follow an exhibition of her daughter before so grand an assembly, had pushed Salome forward in this character, the better to insure the success of her murderous projects against the Baptist.

Besides the different branches of art specified above,

which afford occupation to a large proportion of the people, a numerous class in the East, as in other quarters of the world, are placed in the inferior stations of society, and act in the capacity of labourers and servants. The labourers are commonly hired by the day; and the mode, as well as the terms of their engagement, bear so close a resemblance to what they were in the days of our Lord, that we are tempted to quote the following description of it, as it is seen in Persia every day:—'In a large square,' says Mr Morier, 'which served as a market-place, we observed, every morning before the sun rose, that a numerous body of peasants were collected with spades in their hands, waiting, as they informed us, to be hired for the day to work in the surrounding fields. This custom struck us as a most happy illustration of our Saviour's parable of the labourers in the vineyard, particularly when passing by the same place late in the day, we still found "others standing idle," and remembered His words,—"Why stand ye here all the day idle?" as most applicable to their situation; for, in putting the very same question to them, they answered,—"Because no man hath hired us, &c."'*

In many parts of the East, particularly in Egypt, the situation of labourers who are engaged in any public works under the patronage of the government, is exceedingly oppressive, and presents a picture of hard and grinding servitude, scarcely, if at all, inferior to the condition of the Israelites under Pharaoh of old. 'We cannot be insensible,' says Mr Carne, 'to the cries of suffering raised by the children, women, and old blind men, and cripples, who are condemned, under the terrors of the club, to the severest labours. Having ridden out early one morning, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, we suddenly heard the sounds of music from without, and perceived it was the Pasha himself with his guard, who had just arrived from Cairo. He

* Matthew xx.

was on foot, and stood on the lofty bank of a new canal he was making, earnestly observing the innumerable workmen beneath. The bed of the canal below presented a novel spectacle, being filled with vast numbers of Arabs of various colours, toiling in the intense heat of the day, while *their Egyptian taskmasters, with whips in their hands, watched the progress of their labour.* The wages allowed these unfortunate people, who had been obliged to quit their homes and families in upper Egypt, to toil about this work, were only a penny a-day, and a ration of bread.* What a just and lively representation of the state of the children of Israel, when they had set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens; when the Egyptians made them serve with rigour, and made their lives bitter with hard bondage; in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; when the taskmasters hated them, saying,—Fulfil your work, and your daily tasks, otherwise ye shall be beaten.†

The servants employed in houses are almost universally the property of their masters.‡ Among the oriental nations, slavery seems to have existed from the remotest times. The holiest and the most benevolent of men did not consider it as a crime to detain their fellow-creatures in this degrading condition. The servants of Abraham appear to have been all of this class; and the privilege of keeping slaves was extended to his posterity by the law of Moses. The number of slaves, or servants as they are called in our translation, seems never to have been very great at any period in the history of the Jews, because the moderate extent of their inheritances, and their own frugal and industrious habits, rendered a numerous establishment unnecessary; yet some Israelites, we are told by the inspired writer, had not less than twenty servants; and the number in other families was per-

* Carne's Letters from the East, p. 71. † Exod. i. 8-14.
‡ The concluding pages are in the words of Dr Paxton.

haps still greater. The slaves in the Hebrew commonwealth were either Jews by birth, or Gentiles in descent, that became afterwards proselytes to the religion of their masters, or at least renounced idolatry, and conformed to the precepts of Moses. The laws which regulated the acquisition and treatment of slaves, are stated with sufficient clearness and precision in the Mosaic code, and have been explained at great length by Lewis and other writers on Jewish antiquities. In Greece, the unhappy beings that were reduced to a state of slavery, were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their masters, who were thought to have as good a title to them as to their lands and estates. In the land of promise, they were viewed in the same light; the very bodies of those slaves that were obtained by purchase from the surrounding nations or by conquest, and of their children, they had a right to bequeath after their death; and had the same power and dominion over them as they had over their lands, their goods, or their cattle. A servant, says the Talmud, is like a farm in respect of buying, for he is bought with money, or with a writing, or by some service done, as a pledge or pawn. A servant bought by service, looses the buyer's shoe; carries such things after him as are necessary for the bath; he undresses him, washes, anoints, rubs him, puts on his shoes, and lifts him up from the earth. But mean as these services are, the humble and self-denied precursor of Jesus did not think himself worthy to perform them to his Lord:—'He that cometh after me is mightier than I; whose shoes I am not worthy to bear.'* These were the offices of the meanest slave, which that holy man thought himself unworthy to perform towards his Saviour; so high was his admiration of the character of Christ, and so lowly were the thoughts he entertained of himself.

It was a general custom in the East to brand their

* Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. pp. 296, 297.

slaves in the forehead, as being the most exposed, and sometimes in other parts of the body. The common way of stigmatizing was by burning the member with a red hot iron, marked with certain letters, till a fair impression was made, and then pouring ink into the furrows, that the inscription might be more conspicuous. Slaves were often branded with marks, or letters, as a punishment of their offences; but the most common design of these marks was to distinguish them if they should desert their masters. For the same reason, it was common to brand their soldiers, but with this difference, that while slaves were marked in the hand, with the name, or some peculiar character belonging to their masters, soldiers were marked in the hand, with the name or character of their general. In the same manner, it was the custom to stigmatize the worshippers and votaries of some false god. Lucian affirms, that the worshippers of the Syrian goddess, were all branded with certain marks, some in the palms of their hands, and others in their necks. To this practice may be traced the custom, which became so prevalent among the Syrians, thus to stigmatize themselves; and Theodoret is of opinion, that the Jews were forbidden to brand their bodies with stigmata, because the idolaters, by that ceremony, used to consecrate themselves to their false deities. The marks employed on these occasions were various. Sometimes they contained the name of the god; sometimes his particular ensign, as the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the ivy of Bacchus: or they marked themselves with some mystical number, which described the name of the god. Thus the sun, who was denoted by the number DCVIII. is said to have been represented by these two numeral letters XH. These three ways of stigmatizing, are all expressed by the apostle John in the book of Revelation:—'And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads: and that no man

might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.'* The followers of the beast received a mark in their right hand, because they ranged themselves under his banners, ready to support his interests, and extend his dominions with fire and sword; they bore the name of their general, the bishop of Rome, λατεινος, and the number of his name, which is 666. But they also received the mark of slaves on their foreheads, to denote that they were his absolute property, whom he arrogated a right to dispose of according to his pleasure; who could neither buy nor sell, live with comfort, nor die in peace, without his permission. But they were not only soldiers and slaves; they were also devotees, that regarded and acknowledged him as a god, and even exalted him above all that is called God and is worshipped;—in token of which, they received a mark in the palms of their hands, or in their foreheads. The practice of marking the soldier and the devotee, although of great antiquity, may be traced to one origin,—to a custom still more ancient, of marking a slave with some peculiar stigma, to prevent him from deserting his master's service, or rendering his discovery and restoration certain and easy. To this custom the prophet Ezekiel refers:—'Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.'† Another instance may be mentioned from the Revelations:—'Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the

* Rev. xiii. 16. Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. i. pp. 65, 66. The Hindoos, after ablution, receive in their forehead the mark either of Vishnu or Seva, horizontal or perpendicular, according to the sect they profess. It is made from a composition of sandal wood, turmeric, and cow-dung. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. p. 286. This is a holy ceremony which has been adopted in all ages by the eastern nations, however differing in religious profession. Vol. iii. p. 15. See also Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. v. p. 82.

† Ezekiel ix 4.

servants of our God in their foreheads.'* In both instances, it is the symbol of protection and security to the persons as well as the privileges of the people of God.

The price of a slave, according to Maimonides, was thirty pieces of silver, whether male or female, without any regard to sex, shape, size, or intrinsic value. And this, it will be recollected, was the price at which the traitor sold the Redeemer of our souls; it was a part of the deep humiliation to which he submitted, to be valued by his betrayers and murderers only at the price of a Gentile, the meanest and the most despised of the human race. Slaves in the East, are often sold for much less in time of war. When the Tartars invaded Poland, they sold the children of that unhappy kingdom for a crown. In Mingrelia, they sell them for provisions and wine. It was a part of the misery which the people of Israel had to suffer for their iniquities, to see their children also sold for a trifle:—'They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.' †

The people of Israel, like all the nations of antiquity, had the power of life and death over their slaves; for slavery proceeded from the right of conquest, when the victors, instead of putting their enemies to death, chose rather to give them their lives, that they might have the benefit of their services.

* Revelations vii. 3.

† Joel iii. 3. Harmer's Observations, vol. iv. p. 302. 'Parents in a time of scarcity often sell their children, and even themselves, for bread in eastern countries; and this has been practised from the time of Joseph to the present period. This kind of slavery was unknown among the Jews: the Mosaic law, with the sweetest breathings of humanity, thus enjoins the Israelites:—"If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant: but as an hired servant and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee,"' &c. Lev. xxv. 39. Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 172.

Hence it was supposed that the conqueror always reserved the power of taking away their lives, if they committed any thing worthy of death; and that he acquired the same power over their children, because they had never been born, if he had not spared the father, and transmitted it when he alienated his slave. Such is the foundation of the absolute power claimed by the orientals over the unhappy persons whom they detained in slavery. It must be granted, that such reasons never can justify the exorbitant power of a slave-holder, or even his right to deprive a fellow-creature of his liberty, who has been guilty of no adequate crime. The claims of Israel rested upon different grounds, the positive grant of Jehovah himself, who certainly has a right to dispose of his creatures as he pleases. But among that people, the power of the master was limited by laws, which secured the safety and comfort of the slave, perhaps as much as that condition could possibly admit. Though the Israelitish master had the power of life and death, it has been alleged by some writers that he seldom abused it; for his interest obliged him to preserve his slave, who made a part of his riches. This is the reason of the law, That he should not be punished who had smitten a servant, if he continued alive a day or two after. He is his money, says the lawgiver, to show that the loss of his property was deemed a sufficient punishment; and it may be presumed, in this case, that the master only intended his correction. But if the slave died under the strokes, it was to be supposed the master had a real design to kill him, for which the law commanded him to be punished. But considerations of interest are too feeble a barrier to resist the impulse of passions, inflamed by the consciousness and exercise of absolute power over a fellow-mortal. The wise and benevolent restraints imposed upon a master of slaves, by the law of Moses, clearly prove that he very often abused his power, or was in extreme danger of doing so; for laws are not made for

the righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient.*

The slaves of the Greeks and Romans were treated with great severity, and very often with the most revolting injustice and cruelty. One of the most common punishments which that wretched class of mankind had to endure from the hands of their merciless lords, was to be whipped through the circus, bearing a gallows or cross; which strongly reminds us of the sufferings to which our blessed Lord was subjected on our account. Despised by the Gentiles, and abhorred by the Jews, as the vilest of malefactors, he was, like one of the meanest slaves, compelled to bear his cross, till he sunk under its weight. His disciples are required to submit to similar treatment for his sake:—'He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.'

But, though the slaves in the oriental regions were treated with more severity than hired servants, their condition was by no means reckoned so degrading as in modern times, among the civilized nations of the West. The slave-master in the East, when he has no son to inherit his wealth, and even when the fortune he has to bequeath is very considerable, frequently gives his daughter to one of his slaves. The wealthy people of Barbary, when they have no children, purchase young slaves, educate them in their own faith, and sometimes adopt them for their own children. This custom, so strange and unnatural, according to our modes of thinking, may be traced to a very remote antiquity; it seemed to have prevailed so early as the days of Abraham, who says of one of his slaves, 'One born in mine house is mine heir:' although Lot, his brother's son, resided in his neighbourhood, and he had besides many relations in Mesopotamia. In the courts of eastern monarchs, it is well known, that slaves frequently rise to the highest honours of the State.

* 1 Timothy i. 9.

The greatest men in the Turkish empire are originally slaves, reared and educated in the seraglio. When Maillet was in Egypt, there was an eunuch who had raised three of his slaves to the rank of princes; and he mentions a Bey who exalted five or six of his slaves to the same office with himself. With these facts before us, we have no reason to question the veracity of the inspired writers, who record the extraordinary advancement of Joseph in the house of Pharaoh, and of Daniel, under the monarch of Babylon. These sudden elevations from the lowest stations in society, from the abject condition of a slave, or the horrors of a dungeon, to the highest and most honourable offices of state, are quite consistent with the established manners and customs of those countries.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

A.

Accusers, posture at trial, ii. 165.
Agriculture, Shepherds engage a little in, i. 94; its origin and progress, i. 112, 113; its implements, i. 117
Air, beating the, ii. 211
Aliah, i. 241.
Alliance of shepherds with neighbouring tribes, i. 97
Allies, assistance of, purchased by presents, ii. 38.
Almonds, i. 177
Altar, standing before, ii. 13; swearing by, ii. 17.
Appeal, power of, ii. 201
Apples, i. 176
Arm, making bare, i. 283; cutting, ii. 116
Arms, summons to, ii. 231; description of soldier's, ii. 243; burning of enemy, ii. 353
Armour, making present of, ii. 25; keeping in good order, ii. 257; interring in, ii. 321
Armies, immense, ii. 227
Arrows, scriptural allusions to ii. 271; poisoned, ii. 269; divination by, ii. 307; engines for casting, ii. 321; by day, ii. 387
Arts, low state of the, among ancient Israelites, ii. 405.
Athletæ, ii. 212.

B.

Bags for money, ii. 417
Bakehouses, i. 374
Baker Street, i. 374; chief, i. 375
Baking, mode of, i. 369; with dung as fuel, i. 382
Balances, weighing persons in, i. 342, ii. 77; weighing money, ii. 417
Banner, pledge of protection, ii. 341
Barley, horses fed with, i. 126; rate of increase, i. 135
Battle, axe, ii. 264; devotions preparatory to, ii. 289; challenges to, ii. 313
Beans, boiled with garlic, i. 377
Beard, importance of, i. 338; mode of dressing, i. 339; neglected in time of mourning, i. 339; shaving, ii. 87, 132; swearing by, ii. 88, 132; plucking off, ii. 88; of criminals, ii. 166
Beasts, shepherds encountering wild, i. 24; punishment by exposure to wild, ii. 204.
Beds, simple, i. 227; of ivory, i. 225; where laid, i. 226; explanation of the phrase, taking up bed, i. 227; richly decked, i. 228; reclining on at noon, i. 229; people occupying separate, i. 245; green, i. 315
Bells about feet, i. 330; on horses, ii. 237

Bellows, ii. 413
Betrothed, i. 450
Bier, ii. 104
Blotting out handwriting, ii. 26
Boar, wild, vineyard destroyed by, i. 182
Boat, life, ii. 439; fishing, ii. 440
Bonds, cancelling, method of, ii. 26; different kinds of, ii. 185
Bonnets, i. 332
Books, form of ancient, ii. 431
Booths, shepherds dwelling in, i. 80
Bottles, skin, i. 68; in the smoke, i. 70; rent, i. 70, 71; practice of keeping wine in, i. 72; milk in, i. 87; butter carried in, i. 89
Bow, i. 36, ii. 265; string, ii. 174; deceitful, ii. 277
Boxing, exercise of, ii. 213
Bracelets, i. 331, 353
Branch, strewing road with, ii. 75; cast out like an abominable, ii. 111.
Bread, food of orientals has always chiefly consisted of, i. 361; barley, i. 361; eat by poor, i. 362; eaten when newly baken, i. 361; particular kind of, i. 373; lending, i. 372; ratifying covenants by eating, ii. 22
Breakfast, among modern Syrians, i. 350; when taken by Jews, i. 350
Breast, beating, ii. 141; plate, ii. 246
Bride, preparations of eastern, i. 451; frequent changes of dress, i. 456; purchasing, i. 447, ii. 34
Bridegroom, companions to, i. 451
Brimstone, burning, ii. 141
Buckler, ii. 216, 252
Bullock, unaccustomed to the yoke, i. 121
Burial, rites of, important, ii. 96; denial of, ii. 171; of criminals, ii. 205
Burgle, i. 375
Burning, capital punishment by, ii. 173; alive, ii. 183
Burnoose, or cloak, i. 289; its cape when worn, i. 289
Butter, method of making, i. 87; carried in skin bottles, i. 89

C.

Caps, leathern, ii. 213
Captives, unhappy state of, ii. 335
Caravans, arrangement of, ii. 401
Carpenter work, ii. 421
Carriages, wheel, ii. 365
Castaway, ii. 221
Catacombs, ii. 127
Cauls, i. 331
Caves, shepherds dwelling in, i. 60
Cestus, ii. 213
Ceiling, costly, i. 224
Chains, i. 331; of gold, i. 350
Chamber, large, i. 224; entered from court, i. 224; upper, i. 241
Cheek to cheek, ii. 44
Cheese, method of making, i. 91; small size of, i. 91; soft, i. 91
Children, treatment of, i. 463; different feelings at the birth of males and females, i. 465–467; giving names to, i. 469; want of, i. 469; companions to, i. 471; weaning, i. 472; mode of carrying, i. 472; treatment of illegitimate, i. 473; adoption of, i. 474
Cities, walls of lofty, i. 253; outskirts of, i. 271

Clapping, hand, ii. 63
Cloaks, gorgeous, i. 305; and coat, i. 357
Clods, breaking, i. 123
Coffins, ii. 103
Compliments, extravagant, in the East, ii. 74
Contracts, form of, ii. 10; ratified by striking hands, ii. 11; by standing before altar, ii. 13; by lifting up hand, ii. 12; by putting hand under thigh, ii. 14; by joining hands, ii. 16; by blood of sacrifice, ii. 20; by human blood, ii. 21; by salt, ii. 22; breaking, ii. 25; cancelling written, ii. 26
Corban, ii. 17
Coriander seed, i. 127
Corn, parched, i. 86, 363, 377; time of grinding, i. 365; daily allowance of, to soldiers, i. 368; spread over well, i. 375; kept in earthern jars, i. 158
Corner, seat in, ii. 51
Couriers, before great people, ii. 67
Court, quadrangular in houses, i. 217; surrounded by a cloister, i. 222; chambers of houses approached from, i. 224
Covenant, the phrase, to cut, meaning of, ii. 20; with death, ii. 21
Cracknels, i. 373
Criminals, burial of, ii. 205
Crown, forms of, i. 351; some immensely large, i. 352; ii. 221; military, ii. 357
Cross, ii. 131
Cummin seed, i. 127
Cup, gold, ii. 56; of mixed wine given to malefactors, ii. 175
Cursing an enemy, ii. 298
Curtains, at door of tents, i. 66
Cutting arms, ii. 116; faces, ii. 130; hair, ii. 130

D.

Dagger, ii. 261
Dancing, orientals extremely fond of, i. 432, ii. 451
Daysman, ii. 21
Dead, honours shown to the, ii. 96; washing body of, ii. 98; anointing with oil, ii. 99; burning of spices for the, ii. 106; trial of, ii. 148–151; stripping the, ii. 328; indignities offered to the, ii. 329; binding living to the, ii. 339
Dish, lordly, i. 67; dipping hand in, i. 429; hiding hand in, i. 430
Dismount, when necessary to, ii. 50
Divans, i. 225
Dogs, in outskirts of Eastern cities, i. 272; refuse to prey upon human hands and feet, i. 277; epithet of reproach, ii. 95
Door, small entrance, i. 219; necessity for this, i. 220; lofty, of princes, i. 220; sleeping at, i. 224; at top of staircase, i. 229; of stone, i. 230; of rooms, large, i. 244; locks of, wooden, i. 255; mourning near the, ii. 111; of stone, at sepulchres, ii. 121
Doves' dung, used as manure for flower-gardens, i. 178; houses for, i. 178
Drag for thrashing, i. 149
Drawers, i. 333
Dress, various materials and colours of, i. 279; wide and flowing, i. 283; coarse, of prophets, i. 301; mourning, i. 302; change of, i. 304, ii. 55;

changeable suits, i. 332; of Eastern ladies, i. 334; of Eastern gentlemen, i. 335; covering feet with, i. 347; train of, i. 357; presenting one's own, ii. 25, 59; making present of grand, ii. 55; of honour, ii. 57; rent, ii. 98; of criminals, ii. 205
Drinking, curious mode of, i. 431
Dung, dried, used as fuel, i. 381; hills, embracing, a species of wretchedness, i. 381, ii. 95
Dust, allaying, ii. 69; casting in the air, ii. 163

E

Ears, sheep's, i. 55; rings, i. 322, 332
Earthenware, manufacture of, ii. 407
Eating, times of, i. 359; posture at, i. 408, 421; washing and anointing before, i. 413; commenced with blessing, i. 417; with fingers, i. 429
Embalming, ii. 99; Egyptian mode of, ii. 100.
Entertainments, description of public, i. 418; white garments only used at, i. 422; governor of, i. 423; in the open air, i. 427; passengers invited to, i. 428; enlivened with music and dancing, i. 432; by conversation, i. 433; men and women do not meet together at, i. 437; given to the poor, i. 439; marriage, i. 457
Epitaphs, ii. 128
Executions, prompt, ii. 167; performed by persons of rank, ii. 171
Exercises, preliminary, to Olympic games, ii. 211
Eyes, hair and lids dyed, i. 319; antiquity of this custom, i. 320; unlawful to look with, on king, i. 347; closing, ii. 98; put out, ii. 193

F

Fan, i. 153
Fasting, ii. 133
Fatlings, i. 387; killing, a mark of great hospitality, i. 388
Feet, washing, i. 299; an ordinary rite of hospitality, i. 416; done by servants, i. 417; tinkling ornaments about, i. 330; dress covering, i. 347; speaking with, ii. 16; falling down at, ii. 435; cut off, ii. 180; putting on neck of vanquished, ii. 333
Fibula, or clasp, i. 288
Fines, ii. 185
Fires, when used, i. 250
Fishing, ii. 441
Flail, i. 149
Flocks, immensely numerous, i. 15; on march, i. 16; numbering, i. 34; shepherds going by footsteps of, i. 56
Flowers, used as fuel, i. 384; strewing road with, ii. 75
Fountain, sealed, i. 174; leading to, ii. 391
Fuel, i. 379; great economy in, i. 385
Funeral, honours, ii. 107; procession, ii. 113; dirge, ii. 116; salutations not made at, ii. 129; feast, ii. 142
Furrows, i. 120

G

Games, ii. 208; training to, ii. 209; strict rules of, ii. 211
Gardens, i. 163; description of,

i. 164-169 ; enclosures of, i. 166 ; lodges in, i. 167 ; well-watered, i. 171-173 ; arrangement of, i. 175 ; four kinds of, i. 177 ; manured with doves' dung, i. 178 ; much resorted to in summer, i. 193 ; pleasure parties in, i. 194
Garlands, ii. 221
Garments, kissing hem of, ii. 43; strewing road with, ii. 76; filthy, ii. 166 ; manner of shepherd putting on his, i. 33 ; of many colours, ii. 281, 304 ; of woollen and linen forbidden, i. 284 ; number of in dress of ancient Jew, i. 286 ; laying aside upper, i. 290 ; Babylonish, i. 305 ; moth-eaten, i. 344 ; of vengeance, i. 357
Gate, lofty, i. 221 ; shut after a king has passed through, i. 265 ; of iron, i. 254 ; of brass, i. 254 ; soldiers' arms in peace hung upon, i. 267 ; watching at palace, i. 267 ; gates and threshold of temples sacred, i. 268 ; of cities, a very public place, i. 269, ii. 9, 152
Gauntlet, ii. 211
Girding to battle, ii. 249
Girdle, i. 291 ; purse carried in, i. 292 ; ink-horn in, i. 292 ; present of, i. 293 ; ladies, i. 333 ; military, ii. 250
Goad, ox, i. 35, 120
Goats, mixed with sheep, i. 28
Goel, ii. 153
Granaries, i. 156 ; under ground, i. 157 ; of clay sealed, i. 158
Grapes, ripe, when begin to appear, i. 186 ; treading, i. 187 ; squeezed by hand, i. 187 ; scriptural allusions to, i. 188 ; cutting down grapes with sickle, i. 189
Grass-burning, i. 136 ; law respecting, i. 137 ; scriptural allusions to, i. 137 ; season for, i. 138 ; upon house tops, i. 143 ; rapid springing of, i. 160 ; soon withers, i. 161
Greaves, ii. 250
Ground, kissing the, ii. 47 ; bowing with head to the, ii. 70
Guests, helping distinguished or favourite, i. 419 ; general attentions to, i. 422; sprinkling with perfumes before parting, i. 434; giving presents to, i. 435
Guides, importance of, ii. 399

H

Hair, female, long, plaited, and broidered, i. 310; yellow much esteemed, i. 314; black, i. 315; bushy, i. 316; worn long by minors, i. 349 ; Absalom's, i. 349; cutting off, ii. 130 ; cast into funeral pile, ii. 131
Hair-cloth, i. 299, 349
Hand, striking, ii. 11, 63 ; lifting up, ii. 12; putting under thigh, ii. 14; joining, ii. 15 ; shaking, ii. 41; kissing, ii. 48; clapping, ii. 63 ; spear carried in, ii. 69 ; crossed, ii. 171 ; of criminals bound, ii. 167 ; cut off, ii. 180 ; writing, ii. 26
Hanging, punishment, ii. 175
Harangues, military, ii. 305
Harrows, i. 126
Harvest, i. 139; home, i. 143 ; women engaged in, i. 144 ; offering of first fruits, i. 145 ; storms in, i. 146 ; locust in, i. 148
Hay, not made in the East, i. 142
Head, amongst Jews generally uncovered i. 285; turbans, i. 285; fillet round, i. 289, 332;

anointing with ointment, i. 314; bald, i. 317, ii. 94; moon-like tiara upon, i. 317; horn on, i. 328; swearing by, ii. 17; spear at princes', ii. 69; bowing with, ii. 70; binding letters on, ii. 81; wagging, ii. 93; dust upon, ii. 137; covered, ii. 138; hands on, ii. 167; in charger ii. 169
Heat, intense during day, i. 30; shepherds providing shelter to flocks during, i. 32
Hedge, of thorns, i. 165
Heels, sitting on, ii. 51
Hewing, in pieces, ii. 184
Hellanodics, ii. 210
Helmets, ii. 244
Hiss, ii. 93
Honey, i. 389; used in a loose sense, i. 389 considered a delicacy, i. 390; eaten at breakfast, i. 391; danger of eating much, i. 391; comb, i. 392
Honours, mode of conferring royal, ii. 85
Hoods, i. 333
Hook in the nose, i. 123; throwing upon, ii. 328
Horn, worn on head, i. 328; emblem of dignity and victory, i. 329
Hospitality, of pastoral people, i. 99–105
Houses, of clay, i. 199; of sun-dried bricks, i. 199; general description of peasants' houses in the East, i. 200; of wood, i. 201; digging through, i. 203; walls thick, i. 203; destroyed by floods, i. 204; effects of rain on mud-walled, i. 211; magnificent, i. 213; general style of building, i. 217; entrance small, i. 219; court, i. 222; staircase, i. 229; top, i. 232-237; of Dagon, i. 243; lighted with lamps, i. 246; adorned with trees and flowers, i. 252; vine and fig-tree on, i. 264; winter and summer, i. 263
Horses, honour of riding on, ii. 72, 83; Persian king's, ii. 83
Hunger and thirst, ii. 387

I

Inns, ii. 373
Inscriptions, ii. 129
Invitation, forms of, i. 405; succession of, i. 405; by tickets, i. 406
Ivory, plentiful in the East, i. 225; beds of, i. 225

J

Jailers, power of, ii. 187
Jars, corn for daily use kept in earthen, i. 158
Javelin, i. 36
Journey, anxiety for company on a, ii. 403
Justice, dispensing, at gate, ii. 152; in the open air, ii. 153

K

Kerchief, i. 318
Keys, made of wood, i. 255
Kiln-brick, ii. 387
Kings, sepulchres of, ii. 121, 149
Kissing, feet and hem of garment, ii. 43, 79; ground, ii. 47; hand, ii. 48, 63; beard, ii. 49; shoulder, ii. 49; letters, ii. 79; at death, ii. 97
Knees, holding by, ii. 44; falling down at, ii. 44

L

Labourers, ii. 453
Ladies, dress of, i. 334; cook in their own apartments, i. 372

Lamb, shoulder of, a delicacy, i. 392 ; seven ewe, ii. 11 ; most valued present, ii. 38
Lamps, houses lighted with, i. 246 ; burning signal of prosperity, i. 247 ; used during night to scare reptiles, i. 247 ; extinguished, sign of adversity, i. 248 ; invoking flame of, ii. 25 ; burning, ii. 25
Landmarks, i. 114
Lap, i. 288 ; shaking of the, ii. 91
Laurel, crown, ii. 218
Legs, ornaments for, i. 332
Letters, kissing, ii. 79 ; binding on head, ii. 81 ; form of, ii. 89 ; manner of folding, ii. 90 ; open, ii. 91
Life, swearing by, ii. 17
Line, measuring, ii. 337
Linen, fine, of Egypt, i. 279, 333, 340, 351 ; rolls, ii. 429
Lips, covering, ii. 139
Liver, divination by the, ii. 308
Loaves, small and thin, i. 361, 372
Locks, of doors and gates, made of wood, i. 255
Locust, i. 148
Lodge, in gardens, i. 167
Looms, ii. 419

M

Mantles, i. 294, 332 ; prophet's, i. 349 ; badge of office, i. 349
March, order of, ii. 241
Marriage, early, i. 441 ; of a minor invalid, i. 442 ; contracts, i. 445 ; where made, i. 449 ; ceremony, where performed, i. 452 ; benediction at, i. 453 ; procession, i. 453 ; torches at procession, i. 455 ; gay dress of guests at, i. 456 ; feast, i. 457 ; second, i. 472
Merchants, ii. 415
Millet, Indian, time of sowing, i. 126.
Mills, hand, i. 363 ; worked by female slaves, i. 363 ; used every morning, i. 365 ; sound of, a sign of prosperity, i. 365 ; stone tied to neck, ii. 177
Mirage, i. 38
Mirrors, i. 333
Money, weighing, ii. 417
Moon, tiara on ladies head in form of, i. 317, 331 ; influence of, ii. 335
Mortar, beating with mallets, i. 217 ; treading with feet, i. 217
Moth, crushed before the, i. 209
Mother, great respect for, i. 444 ; abusing one's, ii. 94
Mount, ii. 319
Mourners, hired, ii. 113 ; lay aside ornaments, ii. 134
Mourning, near the door, ii. 101 ; forms of, ii. 115 ; signs of in animals, ii. 135 ; time of, ii. 144
Mouth, filling, with sweetmeats, ii. 86
Mufflers, i. 331.
Music, shepherds fond of, i. 59 ; instruments of, ii. 449

N

Nails, importance of, in houses, i. 249, staining finger, i. 341 ; striking bonds through with, ii. 26
Name, of well, i. 49 ; of guests inscribed on tablets, i. 406 ; giving of, i. 469 ; mentioning one's own first, ii. 46 ; secret, ii. 60 ; new, ii. 61 ; nick, ii. 93
Nose, hook in the, i. 123 ; jewel in the, i. 320, 332 ; snuffing through, ii. 94 ; cut off, ii. 336
Nurses, i. 471
Nuts, i. 177

O

Oath, contracts ratified by, ii. 12; manner of taking, ii. 13; varieties of common, in the East, ii. 17-19
Oats, i. 126
Oil, anointing dead, ii. 99; of olives expressed by treading, i. 137; burnt in honour of dead, ii. 147; for wrestlers, ii. 214; in medicine, ii. 447
Ointments, i. 313; of wrestlers, what composed of, ii. 214
Olives, oil of, expressed by treading, i. 137; of great use to Jews, i. 191; scriptural allusions to, i. 188; beaten off the tree, i. 189; grafting, i. 191; crown, ii. 221
Ordeal, trial by, ii. 172
Ovens, i. 369; portable, i. 371; in bakehouses, i. 374
Oxen, treading out corn, i. 149

P.

Palace, a place of refuge, ii. 161
Palæstra, dust of, ii. 215.
Palanquin, ii. 83.
Palms, ii. 221
Parlour, summer, i. 245
Parsley, ii. 221
Pavement, splendid, i. 225; tesselated, ii. 154
Pearls, i. 326; immense value of some, i. 327
Perfumes, i. 313, 324; want of, i. 325; boxes, i. 332; pouring upon guests, i. 407; signal of parting, i. 434; burning at marriage, i. 453; marks of distinction, ii. 53
Physicians, ii. 443; excluded from court, ii. 141; crowds following a, ii. 445
Pictures in books, ii. 433
Pillar, seat by, ii. 70
Pillows, i. 225
Pins, i. 249; crisping, i. 333
Pinetree, ii. 221
Pit, ii. 183
Plaids, i. 287
Plough, i. 117; drawn over cities, ii. 327; sword turned into, ii. 353
Polygamy unlawful, i. 443; source of much evil, i. 444
Pots, ranges of, i. 386
Presents of cattle, i. 54; necessary to civil intercourse, ii. 28; to prophets, ii. 30; their value regulated by rank, ii. 31; great value of some, ii. 32; sent with parade, ii. 34; taxes levied under form of, ii. 35; judges bribed by, ii. 37; alliances made by, ii. 38; of dress, ii. 58; of ring, ii. 63
Prisons, ii. 186; in old well, ii. 187; guards in, ii. 202; inner, ii. 203
Prizes, where placed in race course, ii. 218; of wrestlers, ii. 218

R.

Rabbah, its desolate condition, i. 31
Race, foot, ii. 217; chariot, ii. 219
Rain, effects on mud-walled houses, i. 211; dropping through roof, i. 233
Ram, battering, ii. 321
Reading, manner of, ii. 435
Reapers, time of continuing at work, i. 143; attended by children, i. 143; governor of the, i. 146; right of the poor to glean behind, i. 146; provisions of, i. 144; salutations to, i. 146

Reaping with sickle, i. 142; with hand, i. 142; general mode of, in Palestine, i. 143.
Refuge, places of, ii. 161
Rending garments, ii. 98; done reluctantly, ii. 137
Restoration, ii. 185
Retaliation, law of, ii. 190; custom, ii. 337
Rider, dismounting, ii. 50; on horses, ii. 72, 363; in chariots, ii. 365
Rings, i. 332, 337; immense gold, badge of office, i. 350
River, passing, ii. 367
Roads, preparing, ii. 65; meeting a great man on the, ii. 72; strewing flowers on, ii. 75
Robbers, at wells, i. 52; on roads, ii. 379
Rock, sepulchres in, ii. 123; throwing from, ii. 179; shadow of a great, ii. 383
Roman citizens, privileges of, ii. 197
Roof, flat, i. 230; entertainment on, i. 232; dropping of in rain, i. 233; walking on, i. 234; road over, i. 235; publishing intelligence from, i. 237; uncovering, i. 238, 240
Royalty, ensigns of, i. 351; splendid exhibitions of, i. 354
Running, couriers, before great people, ii. 67; racers, naked, ii. 213

S.

Sackcloth, i. 303, ii. 135; sitting in, ii. 136–137
Salt, ratifying covenant by, ii. 23; importance of, ii. 24; used in sacrifice, ii. 24; sown with salt, ii. 327
Salutations at entertainments, i. 407; on entering house, ii. 39; tedious at meeting, ii. 39, 73; different forms of, ii. 42; serious character of, ii. 46; not made at funerals, ii. 129
Sandals, i. 298
Saw, ii. 422; sawing asunder, ii. 179
Scarf, laying aside, ii. 213
Sceptre, i. 353
Scourging, ii. 190; unlawful on Roman citizens, ii. 197
Scrip, shepherds', i. 34
Seed-time, dangers of, i. 129; husbandman going away after, i. 133; double in Egypt, i. 139
Sepulchres, ii. 108; of fathers, ii. 109; internal arrangement of, ii. 119; where situated, ii. 119; of kings, ii. 121; stone doors at, ii. 121; in rocks, ii. 123; for foreigners, ii. 129; for criminals, ii. 129; visiting, ii. 144; royal, ii. 121, 149
Serpents, danger of treading on, ii. 381
Sesamum seed, i. 127
Sheaves, i. 143; loose, i. 143
Sheep, mixed with goats, i. 28; marking, i. 28; skin death, ii. 196; two legs of, i. 55; ear of, i. 55; manner of conducting, i. 56; folds, i. 83; shearing, i. 84–87
Shepherds, antiquity and prevalence of their mode of life, i. 9; their wealth and independence, i. 13; sons and daughters of shiechs employed as, i. 13; immense numbers of their flocks, i. 15; description of flocks on march, i. 16; chief shepherd, i. 17; good and bad, i. 19; migratory habits i. 25; accountable for flocks, i. 29; watch by night, i. 30;

care and vigilance, i. 31; carrying lambs, i. 33; encountering wild beasts, i. 28, 55; encamp in the neighbourhood of villages and towns, i. 12; despised, i. 14; marking sheep, i. 28; implements, i. 33; of a pretended, i. 20; dress, i. 33; providing water, i. 37; strife between, i. 39; making presents of cattle, i. 54; going by footsteps of flock, i. 56; manner of conducting sheep, i. 56; fond of music, i. 59; habitations, i. 60; sitting at door of tent, i. 82; trade of, i. 92; engage in agriculture, i. 94; alliance with neighbouring tribes, i. 97; hospitality, i. 99; hunting, i. 105; an abomination of Egyptians, i. 109
Shields, ii. 251
Ships, form of ancient, ii. 437
Shirt, i. 287
Shoes, i. 297; latchet, ii. 18; taking off, ii. 81; soldier's ii. 251
Shovel, i. 153
Shrouds, ii. 99
Sick, feigning, i. 227
Sickle, i. 142
Siege, method of, ii. 318
Signet, of private gentlemen, i. 337; bearer of, i. 351; of letters, ii. 89
Sitting, in corner, mark of distinction, ii. 51; on heels, ii. 51; by pillar, ii. 70; on ground, ii. 139
Skins, writing on, ii. 429
Sling, i. 36, ii. 273
Slavery, ii. 189, 454
Slaves, branded, ii. 456; power of life and death over, ii. 458; price of, ii. 460; adoption of, ii. 460
Soldiers, qualifications of ancient, ii. 231; distribution of, ii. 233; different kinds of, ii. 235; accoutrements of, ii. 236; order of march, ii. 241; labours of Roman, ii. 279; comrade of, ii. 280
Sower, illustrations of the parable of the, i. 132
Sowing, manner of, i. 125; on waters, i. 127; with mingled seeds forbidden, i. 129; with arms, i. 130; tares, i. 134; rate of increase from, i. 135
Speaking, with feet, ii. 17
Spear, at princes' head, ii. 69; carried in hand, ii. 69
Spices, ii. 107; great quantity used at funerals, ii. 107
Spies, generals acting as, ii. 283
Spitting in the face, ii. 91
Spoil, division of, ii. 345; hanging up in temples, ii. 347
Spring shut up, i. 174
Stable of Persian king, a place of refuge, ii. 161; for cattle; ii. 377
Stadium, ii. 217
Staff, shepherd's, i. 34; traveller's, i, 300; breaking, ii. 26
Stair-case, i. 229
Standards, ii. 293
Standing, posture before great persons, ii. 71; of servants, ii. 72
Staves of beauty, ii. 26, 361
Sticks, intercourse carried on by, ii. 27
Stocks, ii. 189
Stomacher, i. 325, 333
Stone upon well, i. 40; gathering out, i. 115; ground full of small, i. 131; wall of loose, ii. 166; buildings adorned with precious, i. 213; corner, i. 215; mill, i. 365–367;

throwing, ii. 93 ; death by, ii. 173 ; engines for throwing, ii. 275, 321
Straining, method of, wine, i. 402
Strangling, punishment by, ii. 174
Stratagems, ii. 285
Street, seat in, ii. 51 ; privilege of, ii. 343 ; remaining in, all night, ii. 371 ; for trades, ii. 415
Stubble, i. 166
Sun, influence of, ii. 385
Swearing, ii. 19
Sword, ii. 257 ; scabbard of, ii. 261

T.

Table, form of, i. 409 ; uppermost seats, i. 411 ; guests seated at, according to rank, i. 412 ; right to a seat at the royal, i. 420 ; rare admission to the Persian king's, ii. 62
Tares, sowing, i. 134
Tents, description of, i. 64 ; form of Abraham's, i. 65 ; furniture of, i. 66, 67 ; facility of erecting and taking down, i. 72 ; allusions to, i. 74 ; villagers dwelling in, during summer, i. 75–79 ; colour of, i. 76 ; Israelites in, i. 80 ; sitting at door of, i. 82 ; flocks feeding around, i. 83 ; pastoral chiefs and their families having separate, i. 83 ; great pole of, a place of refuge, ii. 111
Terraces, hills cultivated by artificial, i. 132
Thigh, putting hand under, ii. 14 ; smiting, ii. 141 ; girding sword on, ii. 259
Thirst, punishment of, ii. 185 ; hunger and, ii. 387 ; horrible effects of, ii. 397
Thorns, hedge of, i. 165 ; used as fuel, i. 383
Thrashing, method of, i. 149 ; floor, i. 148 ; sleeping on thrashing-floor, i. 155 ; metaphorical uses of, i. 154 ; feast after, i. 156
Threshold, i. 220 ; of temples sacred, i. 268
Tiles, ii. 425
Tombs, places of refuge, ii. 161
Tongue, pushing out the, ii. 93 ; holding, ii. 117
Tortoise, ii. 322
Tower in gardens, i. 168 ; in vineyards, i. 182–184 ; in gate of cities, i. 259 ; of Mahanaim, i. 260 ; inner, i. 261 ; of idols, i. 262 ; military, i. 267
Trade of shepherds, i. 92
Travelling, preparations for, ii. 360 ; time of day for, ii. 369 ; buckets and ropes, ii. 393
Trees, branches, strewing road with, ii. 75 ; destroying, ii. 328.
Tribunals, ii. 154 ; of stone, ii. 155
Tribute, paid by presents, ii. 37
Triumph, ii. 354
Trough, at wells, i. 41.
Tumuli, ii. 331
Tunic, i. 286, 340
Turbans, i. 285, 340
Tympanum, punishment of, ii. 195

U

Umbrella, ii. 384 ; eared, ii. 94

V

Veil, drawn over quadrangular court, i. 222 ; worn by ladies, i. 307 ; taken away, i. 308 ; various, i. 333

Victory, thanksgiving for, ii. 349; barbarous tokens of, ii. 351
Vine, use of, i. 116; particular attention bestowed on the cultivation of, i. 179; trained to the sides of houses, i. 180; song concerning, i. 186
Vineyards, without enclosures, i. 181; tower in, i. 181; destroyed by wild boar, i. 182; shepherds driving flocks into, i. 182; labours of, enlivened by singing, i. 185

W

Wagging, the head, ii. 93
Wain, i. 149
Walls, mud round gardens, i. 166; digging through, of houses, i. 203; bowing, i. 203; nails in, i. 249; vines along sides of, i. 252; of cities, lofty, i. 253; fortified, ii. 317; of fire, ii. 373
Wardrobes, immense, i. 335, 343
Wars, simplicity of ancient, ii. 225; summons to, ii. 232; chariots, ii. 237; proclamation of, ii. 291; time of commencing, ii. 298
Watchmen, i. 256; their great responsibility, i. 257; required to cry aloud, i. 257; where stationed in time of danger, i. 259
Water, distributed through gardens, i. 171, 172; provided for travellers, i. 393; near dead body, ii. 102; straight road by rivers of, ii. 389; living, ii. 392; brackish, ii. 395
Wells, great value of, i. 47; naming, i. 49; strife at, i. 39; stone upon, i. 40; trough at, i. 41; shepherdesses at, i. 43; stopping, defiling, and destroying, i. 50, ii. 303; robbers and assassins at, i. 52; time of leading flocks to, i. 53; mouth level with ground, i. 376; corn spread over, i. 375
Wheat, time of sowing, i. 126; rate of increase, i. 135
Wimples, i. 332
Windows, i. 223
Wine, i. 397; mixed, i. 399; straining, i. 401; kept in earthen jars, i. 401; gourds used, i. 427; of the wrath of God, i. 427; changing vessels of, i. 402; cooling with snow, i. 403
Wine-press, i. 183; where constructed, i. 192
Winnowing, instruments, i. 153
Wives, fathers providing, for their sons, i. 446; purchasing i. 447; serving for, i. 449
Women, do not eat with men, i. 437; apartments of, i. 458; married, in a state of great subjection, i. 459; close confinement of, i. 213, 461
Wood, shepherds stationed in a, i. 80; children carrying, for fuel, i. 380; tablets of, ii. 427
Wrestlers, ii. 214; allusion to, ii. 216
Writing, materials of, ii. 423

Y

Yoke, bullock unaccustomed to, i. 121

INDEX

OF

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE QUOTED OR ILLUSTRATED.

GENESIS.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
ii.	8.	163.	
ii.	18.	443.	
iv.	20.	9.	
ix.	20.	9.	
xiv.	14.	93.	
xiv.	22.		12.
xiv.	22, 23.	297.	
xv.	9-17.		20.
xv.	17.		25.
xviii.	1, 6, 10.	65.	
xviii.	6.	369.	
xviii.	6, 7, 8.	100.	
xix.	2.		372.
xx.	12.	441.	
xx.	16.	306.	
xxi.	8.	472.	
xxi.	14.		360.
xxi.	20.		265.
xxi.	28.		12.
xxii.	3.		362.
xxiii.	2.		102.
xxiii.	11-20.	114.	
xxiii.	15.		47.
xxiii.	16.		417.
xxiv.	2, 3.		15.
xxiv.	20.	41.	
xxiv.	34.	442.	
xxiv.	60.	453.	
xxvi.	12.	94.	
xxvi.	15.	50.	
xxvi.	17-22, 33.	39.	
xxvi.	18.	50.	
xxvi.	26-31.	96.	
xxvi.	28-31.		9.
xxvii.	3.	37, 105.	
xxvii.	19.	408.	
xxvii.	28.	132.	
xxvii.	40.		258.
xxvii.	45.		160.
xxix.	7.	53.	
xxix.	8.	40.	
xxix.	24, 29.	457.	
xxix.	26.	443.	
xxx.	40.	374.	
xxxi.	17.	75.	
xxxi.	27.		368.
xxxi.	35.	473.	
xxxi.	38, 39.	29.	
xxxi.	40.	30.	
xxxi.	50.	472.	
xxxii.	24.		216.
xxxiii.	4.		44, 49.
xxxiii.	13.	33.	
xxxiv.	6.	442.	
xxxiv.	12.	448.	
xxxiv.	21.	93.	
xxxiv.	25.		258.
xxxv.	2, 3.	304.	
xxxv.	4.	320.	
xxxv.	20.		128.
xxxvii.	3.	282.	
xxxvii.	24.		394.
xxxvii.	25, 28, 36.		400.
xxxviii.	14.	305.	
xxxviii.	24.		174.
xl.	22.		175.
xli.	5.	136.	
xli.	14.		132.
xli.	40.		79.
xli.	42.	354.	
xli.	45.		61.
xlii.	27.		373.
xliii.	11.	69.	
xliii.	32.	419.	
xliii.	33.	409, 413.	
xlv.	2.		114.
xlv.	14.		44.
xlv.	19.		364.
xlv.	22.		34.
xlvi.	4.		97.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
xlvi.	15.		15.
xlvi.	32.	9.	
xlvi.	34.	108.	
xlvii.	6.	18, 109.	
xlvii.	15, 16.	109.	
xlvii.	20.	114.	
xlvii.	29.		15.
xlviii.	22.		258.
xlix.	4.	226.	
xlix.	8.		334.
xlix.	13.		437.
xlix.	17.		381.
xlix.	22.	179.	
xlix.	24.		276.
xlix.	29, 30.		110.
l.	1.		97.
l.	2, 3.		101.
l.	26.		103.

EXODUS.

i	5.		15.
i.	11-14.	200.	
i.	19.	462.	
ii.	3.		436.
ii.	16.	41.	
iii.	5.	297.	82.
vi.	8.		12.
ix.	23-25, 31.	147.	
xii.	11.		360, 400.
xii.	34.	287.	
xiv.	6, 7.		238.
xiv.	22.		401.
xv.	20.		450.
xv.	23.		396.
xvii.	16.		14.
xix.	10.	304.	
xxi.	18.		273.
xxi.	23.		190.
xxii.	1.		185.
xxii.	3.		189.
xxii.	6.	137, 143.	
xxii.	26.		372.
xxii.	27.	295.	
xxiv.	10.		155.
xxvi.	36.	66.	
xxvii.	20.	191.	
xxviii.	4.	290.	
xxx.	32, 33.	314.	
xxxiii.	5, 6.		134.
xxxiv.	4.		424.

LEVITICUS.

vi.	28.		410.
xi.	32, 33.	67.	
xi.	35.	386.	
xiv.	40.	201.	
xix.	9, 10.	146.	
xix.	19.	284.	
xix.	23-25.	190.	
xix.	28.		116.
xxiii.	14.	86.	
xxv.	39.		189, 458.
xxvii.	32.	35.	

NUMBERS.

v.	16.		172.
v.	23.	293.	
x.	14.		242.
xii.	12.		139.
xii.	14.		92.
xv.	32.	379.	
xvi.	15.		36.
xvii.	2, 3.		428.
xix.	11, 12, 14, 15		103.
xx.	19.	50.	
xxii.	6.		299.
xxii.	21.		362.
xxiv.	5, 6.	80.	
xxxi.	28-30.		345.
xxxi.	49, 50.		346.
xxxii.	1-5.	26.	
xxxv.	17.		273.

DEUTERONOMY.

xiv.	1.		117.
xix.	5.		421.
xix.	14.	114.	
xx.	19, 20.		318.
xxi.	18, 19.	271.	154.
xxii.	8.	231.	

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
xxiii.	2.	474.	
xxiv.	6.	366.	
xxiv.	13.	287.	
xxiv.	20.	189.	
xxv.	4.	151.	
xxv.	9.		92.
xxv.	17.		288.
xxviii.	53.		319.
xxxii.	2.	161.	
xxxii.	24.	188.	
xxxii.	40.		12.
xxxiii.	25.		251.
xxxiii.	29.		261.

JOSHUA.

ii.	6.	231.	
v.	11.	378.	
v.	15.		82.
vi.	17, 19, 24.		347.
vii.	21.	305.	
viii.	32.		424.
ix.	4.	70.	
ix.	12.	374.	
ix.	23.	460.	
x.	6.		323.
xi.	4.		239.
xi.	6.		353.
xi.	10, 11.	98.	
xv.	18.		362.
xvii.	16.		238.

JUDGES.

i.	6.		192.
i.	19.		239.
iii.	18.		35.
iii.	20.	242.	
iii.	26.	245.	
iii.	31.	35.	
iv.	5.		154.
iv.	13.		239.
iv.	18.	459.	
iv.	19.	90.	
iv.	21.	64.	
iv.	24.	98.	
v.	11.	52.	
v.	17.		437.
v.	25.	90.	
v.	28.	218.	
v.	30.	305, 318.	347.
vi.	34.		233.
vi.	37.	149.	
vii.	9.		283.
vii.	13, 14.	363.	
vii.	19.		298.
viii.	5-17.		34.
viii.	19.	445.	
ix.	45.		327.
ix.	45, 51.	261.	
ix.	46.	262.	
ix.	53.	367.	
xi.	31.		290.
xi.	34.		450.
xiv.	3.	442.	
xiv.	7, 10.	451.	
xiv.	12.	294, 457.	
xv.	5.	143.	
xv.	6.		158.
xvi.	21.	367.	
xvi.	26, 27.	243.	
xix.	9.		369.
xix.	15, 16.		405.
xx.	10.		291.
xx.	16.		274.

RUTH.

ii.	4.	144.	
ii.	5.	142.	
ii.	14.	86, 378.	
iii.	2.	156.	
iii.	7.	156.	
iii.	11.	269.	
iv.	1.	270.	
iv.	1-11.		154.
iv.	11, 12.	453.	

I. SAMUEL.

ii.	1.	328.	
ii.	8.	382.	
iv.	13.		119.
vi.	7.		364.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
vii.	5.		289.
ix.	23, 24.	420.	
ix.	25.	231.	
ix.	26.	232.	
x.	27.		34, 36.
xi.	4.		323.
xii.	3.		36.
xiii.	4.		232.
xiii.	5.		239.
xiii.	21.	118.	
xiv.	14.	115, 121.	
xiv.	15.		314.
xv.	33.		172, 184, 192.
xvii.	7.		243.
xvii.	18.	92.	
xvii.	20.	17.	310.
xvii.	38, 39.		244.
xvii.	40.	37.	
xvii.	44–46.		313.
xviii.	4.		26, 59.
xviii.	6.		350.
xviii.	10, 11.		264.
xix.	15.	227.	
xxi.	7.	18.	
xxii.	6.	353.	69, 70.
xxiii.	2–4.		309.
xxv.	18.	387.	
xxv.	36.	87.	
xxv.	40, 41.	447.	
xxvi.	5.		297.
xxvi.	7.		70, 263.
xxx.	8.		309.
xxx.	24.		332.
xxxi.	8,		344.
xxxi.	9.		328.

II. SAMUEL.

i.	10.	351, 352.	
i.	21.		256.
ii.	16.		315.
ii.	21.		344.
ii.	23.		262, 264.
ii.	27, 28.		312.
iii.	34.		167.
iv.	5, 6.	368.	
iv.	12.		180.
v.	2.	13.	
vi.	19.	436.	
viii.	2.		337.
viii.	4.		239.
ix.	10.	421.	
x.	4.		87.
x.	9-12.		315.
x.	18.		239.
xi.	1.		298.
xi.	2.	231.	
xii.	5, 6.		185.
xii.	31.		338.
xiii.	18.	305.	
xiii.	19.	303.	
xiv.	7.	248.	
xiv.	17, 20.		74.
xiv.	26.	312.	
xiv.	27.	469.	
xiv.	30.	137.	
xv.	2, 3.		154.
xvi.	5.		69.
xvi.	6.		93, 273.
xvi.	13.		163.
xvii.	28.	378.	
xviii.	6.		311.
xviii.	11.	293.	
xviii.	24.	259.	
xviii.	24, 33.	242.	
xix.	8.	259, 271.	154.
xix.	18.		437.
xix.	24.	339, 342.	
xx.	9.		315.
xx.	15.		322.
xxi.	10.		102.
xxii.	3.		316.
xxiii.	6, 7.	166.	

I. KINGS.

i.	9.	427.	
ii.	10.		118.
iv.	28.	361.	
x.	1.		434.
x.	8.		72.
x.	12.		450.
x.	16.		252.
xi.	36.	247.	
xiii.	30.		116.
xiv.	3.	373.	
xv.	18, 19.		39.
xvi.	34.		326.
xvii.	11.	159.	
xviii.	27.	229.	
xviii.	28.		117.
xviii.	33.	160.	
xviii.	45.		364.
xx.	31.		341.
xxi.	1, 2.	177.	
xxi.	4.	226.	
xxi.	9.		165.
xxii.	10.	149.	
xxii.	11.	330.	
xxii.	34.		246.

II. KINGS.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
i.	2.	231.	
i.	4, 16.	226.	
ii.	19.		395.
ii.	23.	317.	
iii.	4.	15.	
iii.	18.	302.	
iv.	10.	242.	
iv.	39.	288.	
iv.	42.		31.
vi.	25.	179.	
vi.	32.		169.
vii.	1.	270.	
vii.	10.	73.	
vii.	12.		285.
vii.	15.		314.
vii.	18.	361.	
ix.	2.	243.	
ix.	13.	261.	77.
ix.	30.	319.	
ix.	35.	277.	
x.	1.	471.	
x.	15.		11.
xi.	12.		64,
xi.	14.		70.
xii.	9.	159.	
xiii.	7.	153.	
xiii.	17.		291.
xiii.	20.		298.
xiv.	20.		118.
xviii.	23.		236.
xix.	23.		302.
xix.	26.	161.	
xix.	28,	123.	
xx.	2.	226.	
xxiii.	3.		70.
xxiii.	12.	243.	
xxiii.	16.		129.
xxv.	28.	420.	

I. CHRONICLES.

ii.	34, 35.	475.	
xi.	14.		225.
xii.	2.		274.
xvii.	17.	84.	
xx.	2.	352.	
xxvii.	29,	18.	
xxix.	4.		194.

II. CHRONICLES.

v.	2.	422.	
ix.	23, 24.		37.
xiii.	5.		23.
xvi.	14.		106, 107.
xviii.	9.	149.	
xviii.	33.		269.
xx.	20, 21.		305.
xx.	20, 28.		310.
xx.	21, 27, 28.		350.
xxi.	20.		120.
xxiii.	9.		349.
xxv.	12.		179, 339.
xxvi.	15.		275, 322.
xxvi.	23.		149.
xxviii.	27.		149.
xxxii.	3-5.		324.
xxxv.	25.		113.

EZRA.

ii.	66.		362.
v.	7.		89.
ix.	3.		133.
ix.	8.	250.	

NEHEMIAH.

ii.	3.		112.
iii.	15.	261.	
v.	13.	288.	91.
v.	18.	72.	
vi.	5.		91.
viii.	16.	231.	
ix.	15.		12.
xiii.	15.	192.	
xiii.	25.		193.

ESTHER.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.	Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
i.	5, 6.	409, 423.		v.	1.	243.	
i.	6.	224.		vi.	12.	138.	
ii.	11.	459.		viii.	15.		56.
ii.	12.	324.		ix.	19, 22.	436.	
iv.	1.	303.					

JOB.

iii.	3.	469.		xxi.	17.	247.	
iv.	18-20.	207.		xxiv.	16.	202.	
v.	4.	271.		xxvii.	16.	346.	38.
v.	26.	143.		xxix.	2, 3.	247.	
vi.	4.		268.	xxix.	6.	88, 117.	
vi.	15-17.		390.	xxix.	7.		51.
ix.	33.		21.	xxix.	14.	289.	
xii.	5.	248.		xxxi.	1.	309.	
xiii.	4.	20.		xxxi.	17.	436.	
xv.	25.		215.	xxxi.	26-28.		48.
xv.	26.		252.	xxxi.	35, 36.		80.
xvii.	3.		11.	xxxii.	19.	71.	
xviii.	5, 6.	247.		xxxiii.	18, 24, 28.		183.
xviii.	15.		141.	xxxviii.	14.	158.	
xix.	20.	336.		xl.	7.	291.	
xix.	24.	424.		xli.	2.	123.	
xx.	17.	89.		xli.	30.	92.	
xx.	17, 18.	154.		xlii.	11.	322.	

PSALMS.

i.	4.	154.		xlvi.	9.		353.
ii.	9.	353.		xlvii.	1.		64.
v.	12.		253.	l.	20.	445.	
vii.	13.		270.	lv.	21.		260.
xvii.	13.		261.	lvi.	8.		148.
xviii.	2.		253.	lvii.	4.		260.
xviii.	34.		266.	lix.	8.	445.	
xviii.	40.		334.	lix.	14, 15.	275.	
xix.	4, 5.	450.		lxii.	3.	203.	
xix.	10.	392.		lxiii.	5.	388.	
xx.	5.		342.	lxiv.	2.		260.
xxii.	16.	275.		lxviii.	17, 18.		356.
xxiii.	1.	13, 53.		lxix.	11.	303.	
xxiii.	1-3.	26.		lxxii.	10.		37.
xxiii.	4.	34.	361.	lxxii.	15.		32.
xxiii.	5.	407.		lxxiv.	5, 6.		421.
xxiv.	7.	220.		lxxv.	5, 10.	329.	
xxv.	15.	108.		lxxv.	8.	400.	
xxviii.	1.		183.	lxxvi.	11.		36.
xxxv.	14.	445.		lxxviii.	57.		277.
xxxvii.	2.	161.		lxxix.	1, 2, 3.		171,330.
xli.	9.		22.	lxxix.	11.		188.
xlv.	3.		259.	lxxix.	12.		288.
xlv.	5.		272.	lxxx.	1.	13.	
xlv.	7.	314.		lxxx.	13.	182.	
xlv.	11.	460.		lxxx.	14.	181.	
xlv.	12.	455, 458.		lxxxi.	10.		87.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
lxxxiv.	7.		389.
lxxxiv.	9-11.		253.
lxxxiv.	10.	79.	
lxxxvii.	2.	268.	
lxxxviii.	9.		267.
lxxxviii.	70.	13.	
xc.	5.	161.	
xcii.	10.	329.	
cii.	4, 11.	161.	
ciii.	5.		87.
civ.	2.	222, 358.	
civ.	3.		240.
cvii.	16.	255.	
cx.	7.		389.
cxviii.	22.	216.	
cxix.	83.	70.	
cxxi.	4-6.		387.
cxxi.	5.		384.
cxxii.	5.		154.
cxxiii.	2.	422.	
cxxvi.	5, 6.	130.	
cxxvi.	6.	143.	
cxxvii.	4.		271.
cxxvii.	5.	271.	
cxxviii.	3.	180, 252.	
cxxix.	3.	120.	
cxxix.	6.	142, 161.	
cxxxii.	3.	226.	
cxxxiv.	1, 2.	258.	
cxxxvii.	1.		140, 449.
cxl.	10.		183.
cxli.	6.		180.
cxli.	7.		108, 422
cxlix.	6.	258.	

PROVERBS.

i.	9.	332.	
vi.	1.		11.
vi.	13.		17.
vii.	11.	462.	
vii.	13, 14.	310.	
vii.	16, 17.	229.	
vii.	27.		122.
viii.	34.	267.	
ix.	3.	405.	
ix.	14.		119.
xi.	21.		16.
xii.	18.		260.
xiv.	1.	462.	
xv.	17.	388.	
xv.	19.	165.	
xvi.	14.		168.
xvii.	18.		11.
xvii.	19.	219.	
xviii.	16.		29.
xviii.	19.	255.	
xix.	12.	161.	
xix.	13.	234.	
xxi.	1.	173.	
xxi.	9.	233.	
xxii.	26.		11.
xxiii.	29, 30.	400.	
xxiii.	31.	399.	
xxiv.	26.		79.
xxiv.	30.	167.	
xxv.	11.	176.	
xxv.	27.	391.	
xxvii.	15.	234.	
xxvii.	22.	363, 376.	180.
xxvii.	25.	162.	
xxxi.	6.		175.
xxxi.	10.		418.
xxxi.	15.	425.	
xxxi.	27.	462.	

ECCLESIASTES.

ii.	4-6.	173.	
iv.	11.	245.	
ix.	8.	280, 314.	
x.	7.		72.
x.	8.	167.	
xi.	1.	127.	

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

i.	4.		81.
i.	5.	76, 78.	
i.	6.	445.	
i.	7.	32, 53.	
i.	8.	56.	
i.	10.	326.	
i.	11.	374.	
i.	14.	341.	
i.	16.	315.	
ii.	3.	176.	
ii.	3, 5.	195.	
ii.	6.		42.
ii.	9.	218.	
iii.	6.	453.	
iii.	6-15.		82.
iii.	8.		259.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
iii.	9, 10.		241.
iii.	10.		420.
iii.	11.	452.	
iv.	2.	85.	
iv.	4.		316.
iv.	9.	308.	
iv.	10, 11.	324.	
iv.	12, 15.	174.	
iv.	13.	177.	
iv.	16.	196.	
v.	1.	196.	
v.	4, 7.	256.	
v.	7.	308.	
v.	10.		293.
vi.	2.	193.	
vi.	4, 10.		294.
vi.	11.	177, 315.	
vii.	1.	297.	
vii.	4.		316.
vii.	5.	452.	
vii.	11, 12.	193.	
viii.	1, 2.	445.	
viii.	2.	401.	
viii.	6.	337.	
viii.	13.	194.	

ISAIAH.

i.	8.	168.	
i.	30.	171.	
ii.	4.	119.	354.
iii.	18.	308, 318. 330.	
iii.	24.	325.	
iii.	26.	140.	
iv.	6.	195.	
v.	1, 2.	115, 183.	
v.	11.	400.	
v.	12.	60.	
v.	28.		362.
vi.	1.	357.	
vi.	2, 5.	347.	
vii.	4.	384.	
vii.	14-16.	389.	
vii.	20.		414.
ix.	9, 10.	200.	
x.	15.	422.	
xii.	3.		389.
xiii.	2.		233.
xiii.	15.		326.
xiii.	18.		267.
xiv.	19.		111.
xvi.	1.	54.	
xvi.	9, 10.	143.	
xvi.	10.	185.	
xvii.	6.	189.	
xvii.	10, 11.	147.	
xviii.	2.		437.
xx.	2.	302.	
xxi.	5.		257.
xxi.	11.	257.	
xxii.	1.	236.	
xxii.	15-17.		111.
xxii.	16.		123.
xxii.	23.	249.	
xxiv.	13.	190.	
xxv.	6.	189.	
xxv.	10.	151.	
xxvii.	2.	186.	
xxvii.	6.	191.	
xxviii.	5.	289.	
xxviii.	15.		22.
xxviii.	24, 25.	124, 126.	
xxviii.	26-29.	151.	
xxix.	3.		320.
xxix.	5.	154.	
xxx.	8.		426.
xxx.	13.	203.	
xxx.	24.	153.	
xxxii.	11.		134.
xxxii.	20.	127.	
xxxiii.	23.		437.
xxxiv.	5, 6.		262.
xxxv.	3, 6.		389.
xxxv.	7.	38.	
xxxv.	10.	195.	
xxxvii.	27.	161.	
xxxviii.	12.	74.	420.
xl.	3-5		65.
xl.	11.	33.	
xl.	22.	222.	
xli.	15, 16.	154.	
xli.	18.	38.	
xli.	25.	217.	
xlii.	2.	219.	
xlii.	11.	117.	
xliii.	2.	137.	183, 367.
xliv.	18.		193.
xlv.	2.	255.	
xlv.	9.	408.	
xlv.	14.		400.
xlvii.	1, 2.	366, 367.	
xlvii.	2.		368.
xlix.	9–11.	27.	
xlix.	10.	53, 195.	392.
xlix.	22.	472.	
xlix.	23.		48, 71.
l.	3.	302.	
l.	6.		88.
li.	14.		183.
li.	17.	400.	
li.	23.		333.
lii.	2.	348.	
lii.	10.	283.	
lii.	15.	435.	
liii.	1,	283.	

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
liii.	7.	86.	
liv.	2.	66.	
liv.	11, 12.	213.	
lv.	5.		81.
lvi.	10.	276.	
lvii.	4.		93.
lviii.	5.		137.
lviii.	11.	174.	
lix.	17.	357.	246.
lx.	8.	179, 223.	
lxi.	10.	452.	
lxii.	6.	258.	
lxii.	10.		67.
lxiii.	1.	188.	
lxv.	3.	164.	
lxvi.	15.		240.
lxvi.	20.		362.

JEREMIAH.

ii.	13.		392.
ii.	37.		138.
iv.	3.	115.	
iv.	17.	169.	
iv.	19.		233.
iv.	30.	319.	
vi.	1.		323.
vi.	29, 30.		413.
ix.	2.		376.
ix.	17.		115.
xii.	10.	182.	
xii.	12.		262.
xiii.	12.	72.	
xiv.	3.		138.
xv.	3.	277.	328.
xv.	7.	154.	
xv.	8.		391.
xvi.	6.		116.
xvi.	7, 8.		143.
xvi.	37.		335.
xvii.	1.		426.
xvii.	8.	173.	
xvii.	13.		423.
xviii,	1.		408.
xviii.	14.	404.	
xix.	9.		319.
xx.	15.	463, 469.	
xxii.	14.	224.	
xxii.	18.		116.
xxii.	24.	338.	
xxiii.	1, 2.	21.	
xxv.	10.	365, 437.	
xxv.	10, 11.	247.	
xxv.	13, 16.		176.
xxvi.	18.		327.
xxxi.	9.		390.
xxxi.	12.	175.	
xxxi.	15.		146.
xxxi.	18.	122.	
xxxi.	19.		141.
xxxii.	7.		9.
xxxii.	14.		429.
xxxiii.	13.	34.	
xxxiv.	18.		20.
xxxvi.	23.	251.	
xxxvi.	30.		108.
xxxvii.	15.		186.
xxxvii.	21.	374.	
xxxvii.	21.		415.
xxxviii.	6.		183, 187.
xxxix.	6.		333.
xli.	5.		132.
xli.	8.	157.	
xliii.	11.	403.	
xliii.	12.	33.	
xlvi.	4.		246.
xlviii.	18.		185.
xlviii.	32, 33.	185.	
xlviii.	37.		116.
xlix.	2.		233.
xlix.	8, 30.	97.	
xlix.	28, 29.	54.	
l.	14, 29, 42.		268.
l.	17.	56.	
li.	1, 2.	154.	
li.	20, 21.		265.
lii.	11.		195.

LAMENTATIONS.

ii.	3.	329.	
ii.	10.		140.
ii.	15.		64.
iv.	5.	381.	
v.	4.	50.	
v.	13.	460.	
v.	14.	271.	

EZEKIEL.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
ii.	10.		432.
iv.	1.		320, 425.
iv.	2.		321.
iv.	12.	382.	
iv.	16, 17.	429.	
v.	16, 17.		272.
ix.	2.	292.	434.
ix.	4.		457.
xiii.	11.	211.	
xiii.	18.	225, 318.	
xiii.	19.	375.	
xv.	3.	250.	
xvi.	3-5.	464.	
xvi.	12.	332.	
xvi.	39.	310.	
xvii.	7.	177.	
xix.	11.	353.	
xx.	37, 38.	35.	
xxi.	21.		306.
xxi.	22.		321.
xxiii.	12.	280.	
xxiv.	5.	385.	
xxiv.	17.		139, 143.
xxv.	4.	130.	
xxv.	5.	31.	
xxvi.	4-6.		325.
xxvi.	8.		255.
xxvi.	8, 9.		323.
xxvi.	11.	268.	
xxvii.	6, 26, 29.		437.
xxvii.	9.		400.
xxxii.	18,19,20,25.		120.
xxxii.	27.		331.
xxxiii.	3.	257.	
xxxiii.	5.	256.	
xxxiv.	2-6.	22.	
xxxiv.	11-16.	27.	
xxxiv.	13.	53.	
xxxiv.	25.	82.	
xxxvii.	15-20.		428.
xxxviii.	4.	123.	
xxxix.	9.		353.
xliv.	1, 2.	221.	
xliv.	2, 3.	266.	
xliv.	17, 18.	284.	
xlvi.	3.	268.	

DANIEL.

ii.	46.		53.
iv.	29.	234.	
v.	11-16.		142.
v.	27.	342.	
vi.	18.		134.
vii.	7.	330.	
vii.	9.	316.	
ix.	3.	303.	
ix.	25.	92.	

HOSEA.

ii.	6.	165.	
vii.	15, 16.		272.
ix.	10.	168.	
x.	11.	152.	
xiii.	3.	149, 155.	

JOEL.

i.	5.	398.	
i.	10-12.	186.	
i.	13.	302.	
i.	17.	158.	
ii.	9.	23.	
iii.	3.		458.
iii.	10.	119.	

AMOS.

i.	7, 10, 14.	201.	
ii.	6.		37.
iii.	12.	55, 227.	52.
iii.	15.	263.	
iv.	11.	383.	
v.	16.		114.
vi.	4.	225.	
vi.	4-6.	421.	
vi.	10.		117.
vi.	11.	213.	
vi.	12.		362.
vii.	1.	162.	
vii.	14.	15.	
viii.	6.		37.
ix.	13.	135.	

OBADIAH.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.	Chap.	Verse.	Vol i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
	11.		335.				

JONAH.

i.	13.		437.	iii.	6, 7, 8.		136.
iii.	5.	303.					

MICAH.

i.	6.	183.		vi.	15.	187, 397.	
iv	13.	152.		vii.	4.	165.	
v.	8.	56.		vii.	14.	34.	

NAHUM.

ii.	7.		86.	iii.	10.		325, 335.
iii.	3.		262.	iii.	14.	217.	

HABAKKUK.

i.	8.		301.	iii.	8.		240.
i.	10.		320.	iii.	9.		267.
ii.	2.		426.	iii.	11.		262.

ZEPHANIAH.

i.	9.	220.					

HAGGAI.

ii.	23.	338.					

ZECHARIAH.

ii.	4, 5.		373.	ix.	11.		187.
iii.	1-5.	304.		x.	4.	250.	
iii.	2.	383.		xi.	10, 14.		26.
iii.	3.		166.	xi.	16, 17.	20.	
iii.	10.	427, 428.		xiii.	4.	302.	
viii.	16.		154.	xiii.	6.		117.
ix.	3.	92, 211.		xiv.	20.		237.

MALACHI.

	8.		38.	iv	3.	217	

MATTHEW.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
i.	20.	450.	
ii.	11.		32.
iii.	4.	291, 300.	
iii.	10.		422.
iii.	12.	155, 158.	
v.	40.	357.	
v.	41.		403.
vi.	3.		16.
vi.	19.	344.	
vi.	19, 20.	203.	
vi.	28–30.	385.	
vii.	24–27.	204.	
vii.	6.		95.
vii.	21.		109.
ix.	15.	451.	
ix.	17.	71.	
ix.	20.		420.
x.	9.	292.	
x.	12.		39.
x.	42.	50.	
xi.	17.		112.
xi.	21.	303.	137.
xii.	42.		165.
xiii.	3–8.	133.	
xiii.	24-30.	134.	
xiii.	30.	158.	
xiii.	55.	470.	
xv.	2.	414.	
xv.	5.		18.
xvii.	2.	422.	
xviii.	6.		177, 178.
xviii.	26, 29.		43.
xviii.	34.		188.
xix.	4.	443.	
xx.	6.		453.
xx.	16.		226.
xxi.	8.		76.
xxii.	2.	388.	
xxii.	2, 3.	457.	
xxii.	8.	405.	
xxii.	11.	456.	
xxiii.	6.	412.	
xxiii.	24.	401.	
xxiii.	27, 29.		127.
xxiv.	17.	230.	
xxiv.	18.	125.	
xxiv.	41.	364.	
xxiv.	50, 51.		178.
xxv.	6.	455.	
xxv.	32.	28.	
xxvi.	23.	410.	
xxvii.	7.		411.
xxviii.	9.		79.

MARK.

i.	7.	296.	
ii.	3, 4.	238.	
vi.	3.	470.	
vi.	8.	292, 300.	
vi.	21.	360.	
vii.	3, 4.	414.	
ix.	15.		81.
ix.	41.	394.	
xii.	1.	168.	
xii.	39.	411.	
xiii.	15.	230.	
xiii.	35.		371.
xiv.	3.	314, 423.	
xiv.	52.	295.	
xvi.	5.	422.	126.

LUKE.

i.	28.	145.	
i.	63.		427.
ii.	35.		261.
ii.	44.		400.
v.	5.		441.
v.	19.	222, 227.	
vi.	38.	288.	
vii.	2.		74.
vii.	24.	407.	
vii.	44.	299, 414.	
ix.	1.		361.
ix.	62.	119.	
x.	19.		382.
xi.	5.		371.
xi.	5, 6.	372.	
xi.	7.	246.	
xiii.	8.	115.	
xiii.	24.	406.	
xiv.	7-11.	412.	
xiv.	16.	360.	
xiv.	16, 17.	404.	
xiv.	17.	405.	
xiv.	21-23.	439.	
xv.	20.		44.
xv.	22.	337.	
xv.	23, 27, 30.	387.	
xv.	25.	433.	
xvi.	1.		157.
xvii.	8.	287.	
xix.	43.		319, 326
xx.	9.	133.	
xxii.	12.	241.	
xxiv.	29.		370.
xxiv.	42.	391.	

JOHN.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.	Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
i.	48.	170.		xii.	2.	360.	
ii.	6.		419.	xii.	3.	414.	
ii.	8, 9.	424.		xiii.	3-5.	417.	
iv.	11.		393.	xiii.	4-16.	299.	
iv.	35.	139.		xiii.	18.		23.
vi.	9.	362.		xiii.	23.	410.	
viii.	59.		273.	xv.	1.	252.	
x.	1.	84.		xv.	2.	191.	
x.	1, 12.	23.		xviii.	18.	251.	
x.	3, 4, 5.	59.		xix.	24.		205.
x.	11, 27.	28.		xxi.	4.		443.
xi.	19.		143.	xxi.	7.		441.
xi.	44.		127.	xxi.	18.		315.

ACTS.

ii.	15.	359.		xvi.	24.		189, 204.
v.	6.		104.	xviii.	6.		91.
viii.	27.		436.	xxi.	38.		278.
viii.	29.		364.	xxii.	23.		93.
ix.	5.	120.		xxii.	24.		163, 166.
x.	9.	231.		xxiii.	3.		165.
x.	25, 26.		44.	xxiv.	23.		186.
xii.	6-19.		203.	xxv.	7.		166.
xii.	10.	254.		xxvii.	12-44.		438.
xii.	21.	356.		xxviii.	4.	379.	
xvi.	22-24.		198.	xxviii.	30.		86.

ROMANS.

vii.	24.		340.	xi.	17, 24.	191.	
ix.	20, 21.		408.	xiii.	14.	358.	

I. CORINTHIANS.

iv.	9.		196, 204.	ix.	27.		210.
vii.	2.	443.		xi.	4.		139.
viii.	4.	20.		xi.	14.	312.	
ix.	7.	30.		xv.	32.		204.
ix.	26.		212.	xvi.	9.		220.

II. CORINTHIANS.

v.	1.	74.		x.	13, 14.		219.

EPHESIANS.

iv.	8.		355.	vi.	15.		251.
vi.	12.		216.	vi.	16.		253.
vi.	14.		250.	vi.	17.		245, 262.

PHILIPPIANS.

ii.	25.		282.	iii.	14, 15.		218.

COLOSSIANS.

Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.	Chap.	Verse.	Vol. i. Page.	Vol. ii. Page.
ii.	14.		26.	ii.	15.		356.

I. THESSALONIANS.

iv.	17.		358.	v.	8.		245.

II. THESSALONIANS.

iii.	1.		220.				

I. TIMOTHY.

i.	9.		460.	v.	13, 14.	461.	
ii.	9.	311.		vi.	10.		261.

II. TIMOTHY.

ii.	5.		210.	iv.	7, 8.		357.
ii.	19.		90.				

TITUS.

ii.	4, 5.	462.					

HEBREWS.

iv.	12.		262.	xii.	4.		214.
xi.	37.		196.	xii.	7, 8.	474.	
xii.	1.		213, 217.	xiii.	20.	19.	

JAMES.

i.	12.		357.	iv.	13-15.		416.
ii.	2.	337.		v.	14.		448.

I. PETER.

i.	4.		222.	v.	4.	19.	222, 357
iii.	3.	311.					

I. JOHN.

ii.	14.		254.	v.	4.		254.

REVELATIONS.

i.	14.	316.		vii.	17.	27.	392.
i.	16.		260.	xi.	3.	302.	
ii.	10.		357.	xiii.	1, 11.	330.	
ii.	17.		60, 167.	xiii.	16.		457.
iii.	4.	422.		xiv.	10.	401.	176.
iii.	21.		357.	xiv.	18.	189.	
iv.	3.	315.		xviii.	22.	366.	
v.	1.		432.	xxi.	2.	456.	
vi.	2.		272.	xxi.	18-21.	213.	
vi.	12.	302.		xxii.	9.		45.
vii.	3.		458.	xxii.	15.	272.	
vii.	9.		222, 352.				

THE END

BS620 .P34 1841 v.2
Illustrations of Scripture : from the
Princeton Theological Seminary–Speer Library
1 1012 00045 4845